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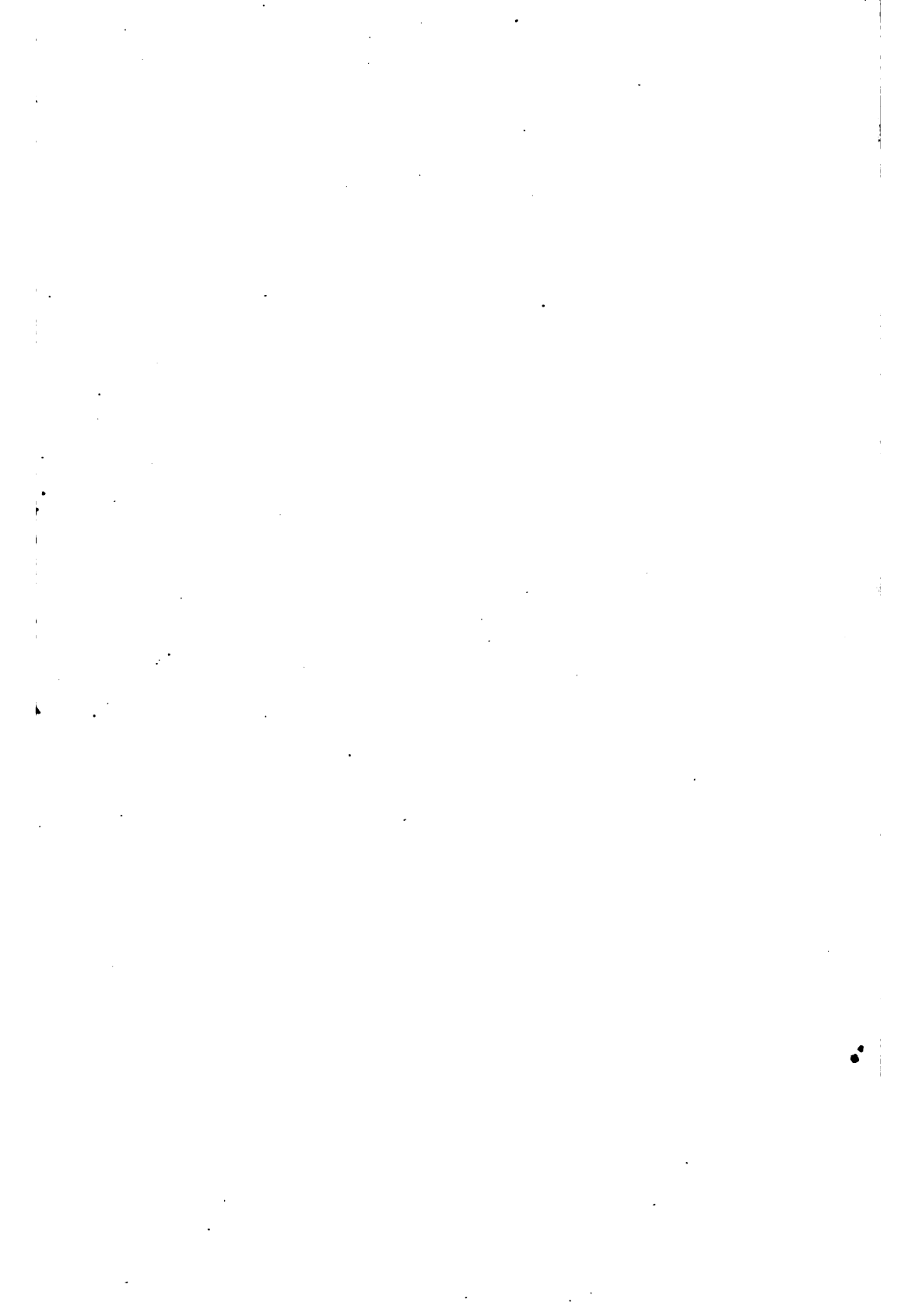
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Henry W. Hilliard, Jr.

POLITICS AND PEN PICTURES

AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY

HENRY W. HILLIARD, LL.D.

"The whole earth is a sepulchre of illustrious men."

PERICLES.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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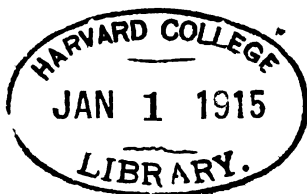
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

AFTER an extended observation of public affairs in the United States, and in other countries, I purpose to write a history of some of the most important events that I have witnessed, and to sketch some of the most conspicuous actors in the great drama of this nineteenth century now drawing towards its close.

Having been engaged in the service of my country at home and abroad, it has been my fortune to meet many eminent men, and to observe the actual working of the political systems that have so rapidly developed the resources, and advanced the power of the United States where free government is established, and those of other countries where monarchical forms exist with all the accessories of pomp and splendor and state.

I have seen the rise and fall of parties, the overthrow of reigning dynasties, and the setting up on the ruins of fallen thrones other establishments. Of these events and the men who took part in them I shall write freely ; in the hope that the following pages recording the struggles, the disasters, and the triumphs which have occurred in our time may contribute something towards the advancement of the liberty of mankind all over the world.

HENRY W. HILLIARD.

ATLANTA, GA.,
January, 1891.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
National Whig Convention at Harrisburg—General Harrison—Honorable Henry Clay—General Scott—John Tyler—James Barbour—Benjamin Watkins Leigh—Judge Burnet—Horace Greeley . . .	1

CHAPTER II.

The Canvass of 1840—Mr. Van Buren's Administration—Financial Policy—Personal Qualities—General William Henry Harrison—John Tyler—The Whig Plan of the Canvass—Great Popular Meetings—Leading Statesmen on the Hustings—Unparalleled Enthusiasm	12
--	----

CHAPTER III.

Inauguration of President Harrison—Death—Accession of Mr. Tyler—Mission to Belgium—Washington—New York—The Ocean—The Voyage—Arrival at Liverpool—High-Sheriff's Coach—Judge Maule	23
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

London—Edward Everett—Sir Robert Peel—An Evening in the House of Lords—The Duke of Wellington—Lord Lyndhurst—Lord Brougham—Mr. Bates, of Baring Bros.—Mr. Van der Weyer, Belgian Ambassador—Rothschild—Departure	33
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Antwerp—Brussels—Honorable Virgil Maxcy—Hôtel de France—Great Military Review on the Banks of the Rhine—Cologne—Aix-la-Chapelle Splendid Reception by the King of Prussia—Baron Humboldt—Return to Brussels	40
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

King Leopold and the Queen—Diplomatic Representatives at the Court —Dinner at the Palace at Laeken—My Residence near the Park— Arrangements for Living	PAGE 47
--	------------

CHAPTER VII.

The Government of Belgium—The Royal Palace—The Chamber of Representatives, or Palais de la Nation—The Burgundian Library —The Hôtel de Ville—The Forest of Soignies—Excursion to Waterloo—The Battle—Napoleon	53
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

A Visit of the French Ambassador, Marquis de Rumigny—Sir Hamilton Seymour, English Minister—Visit to Paris—Louis Philippe—Mr. Ledyard, United States Chargé d'Affaires—Chamber of Deputies— M. Guizot—Reception by M. Guizot—Lord Cowley, English Am- bassador—Dinner at the Palace—Baron Humboldt	64
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

Return to Brussels—Leave of Absence to Visit the United States— Interview with the King—Leave for Home <i>via</i> England—Steam- ship <i>Columbia</i> —Arrival at Boston—Visit to Alabama—Montgomery —Return to Brussels from the United States—Reception—Visits	73
---	----

CHAPTER X.

Visit of the Queen of England and Prince Albert to Brussels—Popular Reception—Dinner at the Palace—Prince Albert—Lord Aberdeen —Lord Liverpool—Interview with Count de Brier, Minister of Foreign Affairs	80
--	----

CHAPTER XI.

Excursion to the Rhine—Liege—Cologne—On the Rhine—Worms— Luther before the Great Diet—Luther's Elm—Heidelberg—The University—Return to Brussels	85
---	----

CHAPTER XII.

Change in the Belgian Ministry—General Goblet d'Alviella—Arrival of Mr. Dangerfield, Minister of the Republic of Texas—Excursion to Holland—Mr. William Norris, of Philadelphia—Honorable Chris- topher Hughes, of Maryland, Minister to Holland	90
---	----

CHAPTER XIII.

	PAGE
Brussels—Mr. Norris—Military Display—Relations of Belgium to the Great Powers of Europe—Visit to Paris—The Tuileries—The King's Fête Day—Splendid Reception—Royal Family—Cabinet Ministers—Guizot—Marshal Soult—Diplomatic Corps—Hôtel des Invalides—Notre Dame—Versailles	100

CHAPTER XIV.

Brussels—Official Duties—Announcement from Washington of the Appointment of Mr. Calhoun as Secretary of State—Dinner at the Palace of Laeken—Dinner at Mr. Waller's, English Secretary of Legation—Evening Reception at the Palace—Letters from Home—Resignation—Departure from Brussels	109
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival at Washington City—Interview with the President—State of the Country—Canvass for the Presidency—Mr. Clay—Mr. Polk—Arrival at Montgomery—Mass-Meeting of the Whigs—Honorable Alexander H. Stephens—Honorable Arthur F. Hopkins—Defeat of Mr. Clay—Nomination for a Seat in Congress—Canvass—Election	115
---	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Opening of Congress, December, 1845—The Senate—The House of Representatives—Sketches of Members—President's Message—Texas—Oregon—Debate on the Oregon Question—Negotiation and Settlement	126
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Relations with Mexico—Measures Adopted by the President—War—Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—Supplies Voted—Views of the Two Houses of Congress—Archibald Yell—Jefferson Davis—Smithsonian Institution—Honorable Charles J. Ingersoll's Attack on Mr. Webster—Honorable William L. Yancey	145
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Second Session of the Twenty-ninth Congress—President's Message—Vigorous Prosecution of the War Recommended—General Taylor's Victories—Monterey—General Scott, Commander-in-Chief—The Battle of Buena Vista—General Scott's Expedition against Vera Cruz and the Capture of that City—The President Recommends to Congress the Appointment of a Lieutenant-General—Action of the House and of the Senate in Regard to this Recommendation—General Proceedings of Congress	162
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

PAGE

Re-election to Congress—Opening of the Session—Organization of the House of Representatives—Mr. Winthrop Elected Speaker—Abraham Lincoln Takes his Seat in the House—New Members of the Senate—President's Message—Death of Mr. Adams—Circumstances Attending it—Marks of Respect to his Memory—Treaty of Peace with Mexico—General Taylor's Return Home—Nomination to the Presidency	181
---	-----

CHAPTER XX.

Closing Scenes of Mr. Polk's Administration—Meeting of the Southern Members—Visit to Boston—Adjournment of Congress—Inauguration of President Taylor—Members of his Cabinet—Renomination for Congress—Canvass—Election—Triumph of the Whig Party . . .	198
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

Opening Session of the New Congress—President's Message—Angry Aspect of the Slavery Question in Congress—Mr. Clay—Mr. Webster—Mr. Calhoun's Last Speech—His Last Appearance in the Senate—Mr. Calhoun's Death—President Taylor's Plan of Settlement of the Slavery Question under Discussion—President's Death—Mr. Fillmore's Accession to the Presidency—Interview with Mr. Webster—Success of the Compromise Measures—Scenes in Washington	212
--	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

Interval between the Two Sessions of Congress—Visit to New York—Speech at Castle Garden, October 14, 1850—Jenny Lind—Great Concert in Philadelphia—Opening of the December Session of Congress—State of the Country—Social Life in Washington—Sir Henry L. Bulwer—Mr. Corcoran—Mr. Benjamin Ogle Tayloe—Adjournment of Congress	235
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

Return to Montgomery—Decline a Re-election to Congress—Discussions with Hon. William L. Yancey—Democratic Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852—Whig Convention at Baltimore, June 16th—Death of Henry Clay, June 29th—Death of Daniel Webster, October 24th—Presidential Election, November 2d—Administration of President Pierce—New Acquisition of Territory from Mexico—Organization of Two New Territories, Kansas and Nebraska—Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act	249
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

PAGE

Political Movements in 1856—American National Convention, February 22d—Democratic National Convention, June 2d—Republican National Convention, June 17th—Canvass for Mr. Fillmore—Reception at Huntsville—Debates with Hon. L. P. Walker—Speech at Huntsville—Mass-Meeting at Atlanta—Hon. B. H. Hill—Presidential Election—President Buchanan's Administration—Oration at the University of Virginia Commencement, 1859—Hon. William C. Preston	268
--	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

Political Events of 1860—Democratic National Convention at Charleston ; at Baltimore—Democratic National Convention at Richmond ; at Baltimore—Constitutional Union Convention at Baltimore—Republican National Convention at Chicago—Canvass—Great Meeting in Cooper Institute, New York—Speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston—Edward Everett—Speech at Utica—Governor Seymour—Speech at Buffalo—Mr. Fillmore—Presidential Election, November 6th—Abraham Lincoln	285
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

Effect of Mr. Lincoln's Election upon the Country—Secession of South Carolina—Mississippi—Florida—Alabama—Speech against Secession—Georgia—Speech of Mr. Stephens—Louisiana—Texas—Efforts Made to Arrest the Revolution—Opening of Congress—Mr. Buchanan's Message—Confederate Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861—Provisional Government Organized—Jefferson Davis of Mississippi Elected President—Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President—Mr. Davis Inaugurated February 18th—His Cabinet—Mr. Lincoln Inaugurated March 4th—Mr. Stephens' Speech, March 21st—Fort Sumter—Virginia—Tennessee	306
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

State of the Country—Session of Congress at Montgomery, April 29, 1861—President Davis' Message—Patriotic Ardor in Support of the Government—North Carolina—Arkansas—Robert E. Lee—Albert Sidney Johnston—Removal of the Seat of Government to Richmond—Visit to Richmond—Battle of Manassas—War—President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—General Lee's Surrender—General Grant—General Joseph E. Johnston's Surrender—General Sherman—Fall of the Confederate Government—Principles Involved in the Struggle	331
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Assassination of President Lincoln—A National Calamity—The North and the South both Mourned his Death, and Paid Tributes to his Memory—His Character—His Place in History—Accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency—Reconstruction Measures—Mr. Seward—Chief-Justice Chase	PAGE 343
--	-------------

CHAPTER XXIX.

President Hayes—Honorable Richard W. Thompson—Honorable William M. Evarts—Mission to Brazil—Steamer <i>Russia</i> —London—Paris—Stuttgart—Voyage from Bordeaux to Rio de Janeiro—Arrival—First Impressions	356
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

Palace of San Cristováo—Emperor and Empress—Col. Richard Cutts Shannon—Imperial Family—Count Koskul, Russian Minister—Season in Rio—Tijuca—Mr. Gillett, Navy Agent—Mr. Midwood—Apartments in Rio—Mr. Wilson	364
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

Trade-Mark Treaty—Botanical Garden Railroad—Mr. Greenough—Evening at Mr. Wilson's—Madame Durand—Tamagno—Leave of Absence—Visit to Stuttgart—Return to Rio	373
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

Petropolis—The Emperor—Mr. Ford, English Minister—Mr. Goschen, Secretary of Legation—Baron Schreiner, Austrian Minister—Mr. Nabuco—Return to Rio—Statesmen of Brazil—The Press	379
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Leave of Absence to Visit the United States—Meet Mrs. Hilliard and Daughters in Paris—London—Sunday—Mr. Spurgeon—Evening Service in St. Paul's Cathedral—Liverpool—Voyage—New York—Washington—President Hayes—Georgia	383
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Return to Brazil <i>via</i> England and France—London—House of Lords—Lord Granville—Paris—Chamber of Deputies—Gambetta—General Grant—Voyage from Bordeaux to Rio—Count Koskul—Arrival at Rio	388
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

Aspect of Political Affairs—Slavery Agitation—Mr. Nabuco, President of the Anti-Slavery Society—His Appeal to me to State the Result of Emancipation in the United States—Correspondence on the Subject—Excitement Produced by it—Interview with the Emperor,	PAGE 393
---	-------------

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Banquet Given to me by the Anti-Slavery Society—Discussion in the Chamber of Deputies—Interpellation to the Premier, Mr. Sariaiva—Public Interest as to the Result—Reply of Mr. Saraiva in the Chamber of Deputies—The Scene—Public Sentiment in the Empire—Mr. Ford, English Minister—Lord Granville of the Gladstone Cabinet—"Blue Book" of the British Parliament—Petropolis	398
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Close of President Hayes' Administration—Accession of General Garfield to the Presidency—Resignation Forwarded—Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State—Interview with the Emperor and Empress—Departure from Rio—Voyage—Beautiful Views—Teneriffe—Madeira—Arrival at Bordeaux—Paris—Anniversary of the Republic—London—Dean Stanley—Westminster Abbey—Canon Farrar—Voyage to New York—Washington—Mr. Blaine	403
Conclusion	409

APPENDIX.

Mr. Hilliard's Participation in the Emancipation Measure in Brazil as Published in the British Parliamentary "Blue Book"	411
Index	437





POLITICS AND PEN PICTURES

AT HOME AND ABROAD

CHAPTER I.

National Whig Convention at Harrisburg—General Harrison—Honorable Henry Clay—General Scott—John Tyler—James Barbour—Benjamin Watkins Leigh—Judge Burnet—Horace Greeley.

WHEN the National Whig Convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, December 4, 1839, it had before it three eminent aspirants to the presidency—General William Henry Harrison, Henry Clay, and General Winfield Scott. Twenty-two States were represented, and many of the delegates were men of distinction. Virginia was represented by several of her most eminent men—John Tyler, Governor James Barbour, and Benjamin Watkins Leigh, who would have been recognized as illustrious in any assembly.

The venerable Judge Burnet led the delegation from Ohio. Among the conspicuous men from New York was Horace Greeley. I was one of the youngest men in the Convention, taking my seat as a delegate from Alabama.

Leaving Montgomery in mid-winter, I travelled to Harrisburg with the ardor of youth to take part, for the first time, in national politics. Taking Washington in my way, I made a brief stay there, and saw for the

first time Congress in session. Honorable William C. Preston, a senator from South Carolina, received me with marked kindness and consideration. I had read law in his office in Columbia, after graduating at the renowned College of South Carolina, and I enjoyed a life-long, personal friendship with him. Mrs. Preston, the lovely and accomplished Miss Penelope Davis, was with the distinguished senator, giving an indescribable charm to their home in Washington. I met for the first time many of the public men of the country. Mr. Preston asked if I had ever seen Mr. Webster, and learning that I had not, said: "You must see Webster; he looks the great man more than any of us." Entering the gallery of the Senate-chamber, next day, I looked down upon that assemblage of illustrious men. Mr. Webster was in his seat, and his appearance justified Mr. Preston's remark. He recalled to me the idea of classic grandeur; there was in him a blended dignity and power, most impressive; his head was magnificent, the arch of imagination rising above the brows, surmounted by a development of veneration resembling that of the bust of Plato; and as he sat in his place, surrounded by his peers, it seemed as if the whole weight of the government might rest securely on his broad shoulders. His large, dark eyes were full of expression, even in repose; the cheeks were square and strong; his dark hair and swarthy complexion heightened the impression of strength which his whole person made upon me as I saw him for the first time, an impression that was deepened when he rose to his feet, and walked the floor of the Senate-chamber. There was in his appearance something leonine. He was in full dress; he never neglected this. When he delivered his great speech in reply to Hayne, it is known that he wore a dress-coat of dark blue cloth with gilt buttons, buff vest, and white cravat, so that, some one has said, he displayed the colors of the Revolution.

I saw Mr. Clay for the first time, and his commanding and striking person attracted and impressed me. He was unlike Mr. Webster; his light complexion, blue eyes, and animated manner displayed an ardent nature—I at once recognized a leader among men. His appearance was not less intellectual than that of the other great statesman; his forehead was high and finely proportioned, and his features expressed intellect, ardor, and courage; his nose and mouth were large, and of the Roman cast. If Mr. Webster reminded one of the majestic aspect of the lion, Mr. Clay's face suggested that of the eagle—his eyes were brilliant and attractive. When he rose to speak, standing over six feet in height, spare and vigorous, his appearance was most commanding; and certainly with his singularly clear, sonorous, and musical voice, that rose and fell with perfect cadence, one felt that never in ancient or modern assemblies had a greater master of popular thought and passion stood in the midst of men. He was a man of heroic mould, grand in every way, of vast energy, bold plans, comprehensive views, full of decision, and swaying men by the qualities of a great, generous, fearless nature. He was attentive to dress, and when I saw him for the first time he wore a dress-coat of brown broadcloth, a heavy black cravat, and the collar of his shirt was of the largest style, touching his ears.

There, too, seated in the midst of his peers, was Mr. Calhoun. I had seen him some years previously; when he was Vice-President he made a visit to the South Carolina College at Columbia, while I was a student in that renowned institution. I had observed him with youthful ardor, regarding him as the impersonation of statesmanship of the highest order. His appearance was not less impressive than that of the two eminent men just described: all were recognized as giants in that body where they contended for the mastery. He stood quite six feet in height, spare, but vigorous and erect, the imper-

sonation of intellectual grandeur; his face was Grecian, the brow square, and the forehead finely developed, from which the thick hair was brushed upward; the mouth resolute; and the chin, in its shape and firmness giving an expression of purpose and determination, recalled the bust of Cæsar; his eyes, dark gray, were full of fire, and when he was animated blazed with the ardor of his great soul. The whole aspect of the man was that of regnant power. A sculptor, seeking a model for a statue representing dignity, intellectual power, and high purpose, would, without doubt, have chosen Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun was habitually dressed in black, and in the Senate-chamber, at all times, wore a morning costume.

His colleague, Mr. Preston, had barely touched the line of mature manhood; his ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and auburn hair gave him the appearance of an English gentleman. His face beamed with animation, and there was an unusual grace in his attitudes; his voice and diction were surpassingly fine; and, surrounded as he was in that body with so many men of culture and power, he was without a peer as an orator. His orations, like those of Pericles, were so brilliant that they deserved to be called Olympian. A fine portrait of Mr. Preston, by Healey, is in the Corcoran Gallery, in Washington.

There were other senators whose appearance attracted my attention, as I was seated in the chamber. I give here only the sketch of some of the great leaders, but I wish in these pages to describe many of them as I became personally acquainted with them in later years. In conversation with Mr. Preston, I found that he was quite as ardent in support of Mr. Clay's claims for the presidency as myself.

It so happened that I travelled to Harrisburg in company with Mr. Tyler, and I was honored by his attentions to me. There was an indescribable charm in his manners, and his conversation was fascinating. He seemed to think

that the call of the Convention was premature ; that it should have awaited the action of the session of Congress that had just opened, before selecting a candidate for the presidency. Mr. Tyler was confident that Mr. Calhoun might be induced to act with the Whigs, his hostility to Mr. Van Buren being well known. The task of unseating Mr. Van Buren and expelling his partisans from their intrenched position was a formidable one—but, said Mr. Tyler, “We must give no audience to our fears.” The journey from York, where we took the railroad train to Harrisburg, was interesting ; the scenery along the banks of the Susquehanna was beautiful, and a bright winter day imparted a charm to the varied landscape. I found a large number of delegates assembled upon my arrival at Harrisburg. The morning of the next day, Wednesday, opened auspiciously, and the Convention assembled at noon in a large Presbyterian church, which had been tendered for the use of the body. The Convention organized by electing as its permanent president, Governor James Barbour, of Virginia, with several gentlemen from other States as vice-presidents. The choice of Governor Barbour as president was felicitous in every way, personally, geographically, and politically. As a presiding officer he was transcendently fine. In the whole course of a long public service I have never seen a man who could rival him as a presiding officer of a public assembly. His person was commanding, his presence distinguished, his bearing dignified and stately ; and his sonorous voice controlled the large body, representing such a vast and varied constituency, with resistless effect. He had filled great places, having been Governor of his State, Secretary of War in the Cabinet of John Quincy Adams, a senator from Virginia, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to England. The plan adopted by the Convention for the choice of a candidate for President and for Vice-President was original, and has been the sub-

ject of criticism by so eminent a statesman as Honorable Thomas H. Benton. But it seemed to me to possess great advantages, and in my judgment it might well be adopted for the guidance of national conventions in our day. Instead of proceeding to ballot in open convention, it was decided to refer the selection of candidates to a committee composed of delegates from the States represented, not to exceed three from each State. It was the duty of the committee to withdraw to another hall, and sit as an independent body, to consider the claims of the several candidates, and when a satisfactory result was reached, to rise and report their action to the Convention for approval. A majority of all the delegations from the several States was required to secure a nomination. The following order was adopted by the Convention :

“ Ordered, that the delegates from each State be required to assemble as a delegation and appoint a committee, not exceeding three in number, to receive the views and opinions of such delegation, and communicate the same to the assembled committees of all the delegations, to be by them respectively reported to their principals ; and thereupon the delegates from each State be required to assemble as a delegation and ballot for candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, and having done so, to commit the ballot, designating the votes of each candidate, and by whom given, to its committee, and thereupon all the committees shall assemble and compare the several ballots, and report the result of the same to their several delegations, together with such facts as may bear upon the nomination ; and said delegation shall forthwith reassemble and ballot again for candidates for the above offices, and again commit the result to the above committees ; and if it shall appear that a majority of the ballots are for any one man, for candidate for President, said committee shall report the result to the Convention for its consideration ; but if there shall be no such majority, then the delegates shall repeat the balloting until such a majority shall be obtained, and then

report the same to the Convention for its consideration. The vote of a majority of each delegation shall be reported as the vote of that State ; and each State represented here shall vote its full electoral vote by said delegation in the Convention."

The Committee of States raised by the above order was chosen, and immediately repaired to a large apartment prepared for their accommodation. They met in the afternoon of Wednesday and organized, adopting such rules as would enable the body to conform to the plan adopted by the Convention. I was chosen as one of the three to represent the State of Alabama. Soon after organizing, the Convention adjourned to meet at an early hour the next morning. I was an ardent supporter of Mr. Clay, and with his other friends anticipated his early nomination. But the friends of General Harrison, led by Judge Burnet, of Ohio, urged his claims with great earnestness. The delegates from the great State of New York advocated a nomination of General Scott. After a free interchange of views, we proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the presidency, and found ourselves unable to reach a result. When the hour of adjournment arrived in the evening neither candidate had received a majority of the whole number of votes cast.

Upon reassembling the next morning, it was seen that the several delegations adhered to their first choice. Neither the friends of Mr. Clay, of General Harrison, nor of General Scott would yield anything. Each successive ballot disclosed the unswerving loyalty of the delegates to their favorite candidate. Toward the evening of the second day, it was plain that we should not be able to agree upon any candidate without some concession on the part of the friends of Mr. Clay. General Harrison developed great strength. Then the delegates from the State of New York came to the friends of Mr. Clay, and said to us that the nomination of that gentleman was

hopeless, that he was supported mainly by the Southern representatives, who were not strong enough to achieve a triumph over the combined North and West; and they invited us to join them in the support of General Scott. We declined to abandon Mr. Clay, whose qualities, we insisted, entitled him to the nomination. Finally, they said to us: "Well, we now give you Southern gentlemen notice that after the next ballot, if you still adhere to Mr. Clay, we shall give our entire vote to General Harrison, and end this contest." The next ballot disclosed the purpose of the Southern delegates to stand firmly by Mr. Clay. Another ballot was ordered, and it resulted in the choice of General Harrison, the New York delegation having gone over to him in a body. The result was: for General Scott, 16 votes; for Mr. Clay, 90 votes; for General Harrison, 148 votes. We immediately proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Vice-President. Some votes had been cast for a candidate while the previous balloting was going on; but the interest in the choice of a candidate for President had been so intense, as to leave the delegates largely uncommitted to any one for the second office. I had, from the first, cast a vote for candidates for both offices, and had voted uniformly for Mr. Clay, and for Mr. Tyler, respectively. From time to time others had joined me in indicating our preference for Mr. Tyler, so that when the committee came to ballot for a candidate for the vice-presidency, after the choice of General Harrison for the presidency had been made, that gentleman had developed considerable strength. On the second ballot for Vice-President, Mr. Tyler was chosen by a large majority, to my great gratification, for I had given him his first vote.

Some of the delegations had expressed a wish to give the nomination for Vice-President to Benjamin Watkins Leigh, who was one of the three gentlemen representing Virginia in our Committee, but he promptly declined

to be considered an aspirant, in a speech of so much beauty and earnestness that it charmed us all. He was a splendid representative of that class of Virginia gentlemen, who illustrated the grand commonwealth at that period; a statesman of rich culture, of large attainments, of exalted character, of winning eloquence, and fascinating manners.

The committee rose, and proceeding to the hall, where the Convention was in session, reported the result; naming as candidate for President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio; for Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia. There was an outburst of applause; the sonorous voice of Governor Barbour, as he uttered the word "Order," instantly stilled the assemblage. A motion was immediately made to adjourn until 9 o'clock the next morning, which was carried unanimously, and the Convention rose with enthusiastic cheers.

The adjournment was timely; it enabled us to consider, outside of the body, the report of the Committee of States, before a single remark in regard to it had been made in the Convention. The greatest excitement prevailed; the delegates from the Southern States were not only disappointed at the defeat of Mr. Clay, but they believed that the nomination of General Harrison would result in the rout of the Whig party; that not a single Southern State would give its support to the ticket. General Harrison's sentiments were understood to be hostile to slavery; he had not taken an active part in public affairs for some years; but while his eminent services as a soldier were well known, and the greatest respect was felt for his character throughout the country, it was supposed that he had sympathized with those who favored emancipation in Virginia, his native State, some years previously. Of illustrious revolutionary lineage, he belonged to a school of statesmen who, while loyal to the South, entertained views of the government that were called National,

in contradistinction to those of others who advocated the doctrine of State-rights. He had been for years a resident of Ohio, a State that already exhibited a tendency to encourage the growth of free-soil ideas. In the course of the night the policy of adopting the report of the Committee of States was warmly discussed ; some of the Southern delegates were ready to reject the nomination of General Harrison, and to give the vote of the Convention to General Scott. It was understood that the New York delegation would co-operate in that plan, and it found supporters elsewhere. The discussion awakened the deepest interest, and I heard the views of the friends of the several candidates expressed with the strongest desire to discover some course that would relieve the party from the disaster that seemed to threaten it.

Before breakfast the next morning I called on Governor Barbour, and conversed with him on the subject. He advised that we should adopt the report of the committee, and give the unanimous vote of the Convention to General Harrison and Mr. Tyler. He believed that we should be defeated in the coming contest, and our only hope of success was to adhere with courage to the candidates presented to the Convention by the Committee of States.

"No," said Governor Barbour, "it will not do, Mr. Hilliard, to reject General Harrison now; the people would not understand how he failed to be nominated after he had been chosen upon full deliberation by the States in the Convention ; just as they did not understand why General Jackson failed to be elected by the House of Representatives, after having obtained the highest vote in the electoral college. We shall be defeated, in all probability, but we must stand it. It reminds me of what occurred in the course of my practice: one day a fellow came to me when I was standing with a group of lawyers, in the court-house, and said he wished to speak with me. I walked off with him, and he asked me if I remembered

that some years before he had employed me to defend him when he was charged with stealing a pair of shoes, and upon my replying that I did, he went on to say, that the taking of that pair of shoes was the worst job of his life ; that he did not keep them a week ; they put him in jail ; he had given me the only horse he had to defend him ; lost his crop ; and, ' By George, squire,' he said, ' they gave me nine and thirty lashes at last ; I tell you, squire, it was a bad speculation.' There is not much hope for us ; we shall have to take the thrashing after all our trouble." Greatly amused and instructed, I was convinced by Governor Barbour's counsel.

Upon the assembling of the Convention, a motion to adopt the report of the Committee of States was immediately made. It was supported by delegates from State after State ; eloquent speeches were delivered in behalf of the candidates, a flame of enthusiasm spread through the vast assemblage, and I was in full sympathy with it, and speaking for Alabama I pledged the Whigs of the State to an unqualified support of the ticket. In the evening Harrisburg was illuminated ; crowds of enthusiastic people filled the streets cheering, while a band of music played the national airs in front of a public building, where a flag was displayed bearing a portrait of General Harrison, in full uniform, surrounded by the insignia of war. As I stood and saw the flag floating in the evening breeze, I caught the inspiration of coming victory ; I recognized in the heroic face of General Harrison a leader who would be followed by a great and generous people, who would bear his standard with resistless ardor to a splendid triumph. From that hour, throughout the wonderful canvass that followed, I never swerved from his support, and never lost heart. Young, ardent, and fearless, with full faith in the Whig cause, I did not believe defeat possible. It seemed to me that the opening campaign would be like that of Napoleon's, when he led his resistless troops from the summit of the Alps into the plains of Italy.



CHAPTER II.

The canvass of 1840—Mr. Van Buren's administration—Financial policy—Personal qualities—General William Henry Harrison—John Tyler—The Whig plan of the canvass—Great popular meetings—Leading statesmen on the hustings—Unparalleled enthusiasm.

LEAVING Harrisburg, I returned to Washington. I found the leading Whigs, not only expressing in strong terms their regret at Mr. Clay's defeat, but, like Governor Barbour, looking for defeat under the lead of General Harrison. Mr. Clay was indignant ; I explained to him the efforts that had been made by his friends to give him the nomination at Harrisburg, but he did not attempt to repress his deep chagrin ; this was but a natural outburst of his ardent temperament, at what seemed to him the disloyalty of his friends. Later, however, his nobler qualities triumphed, and he expressed his purpose to give his energetic support to the Whig cause. Mr. Preston generously decided promptly to accept the nomination ; he thought well of General Harrison, and he entertained a warm regard for Mr. Tyler. Mr. Preston took me to call on General Scott ; he had known him for years, and felt for him a sincere friendship, and he wished me to know him too, as a coming man. General Scott spoke of affairs without reserve, and felt that we had committed a great blunder, but his temper was admirable. We were much amused when, on taking leave, General Scott conducted us to the hall of his house, and said, rising to the full height of his majestic person, " I could have been elected

as easily as I could walk down these stairs." Mr. Preston laughed heartily, and we descended the stairs.

Mr. Van Buren's administration had not given satisfaction to the country ; it was beset with troubles. The successor of General Jackson, he found himself surrounded by difficult and perilous problems, which the late President, with all his heroic qualities, with the aid of friends as loyal as ever followed a leader, had not been able to solve. The great battle with the Bank of the United States had shaken the foundations of the business of the country, and recalled the truth of the remark of the Duke of Wellington—"Next to a great defeat, the greatest disaster is a great victory." Arrayed against Mr. Van Buren were the most formidable enemies : the Bank of the United States, making a powerful struggle for a new national charter in the effort to elect a president friendly to it ; aided by the suspended banks in all the States ; and the large and influential merchants who believed that the sub-treasury scheme and the hard-money policy of the administration would destroy the commercial prosperity of the country. A battle-cry in contests under constitutional governments where an appeal is made to the people is of the utmost importance, and, unhappily for Mr. Van Buren, he had given one to the Whigs, which was easily comprehended and uttered by leading Whig statesmen, and reproduced by the press of the party throughout the country. He had said in one of his messages to Congress that it was the duty of the government to provide a special currency for its own use, and the people of the country must supply a financial system for carrying on their business. He insisted that there should be a clear separation between the money of the government and the money of the people. That was enough ; it ranged the friends of a liberal commercial system, which required an ample currency, against an administration that proposed to lock the revenue of the

government in its own vaults, giving it no circulation for the benefit of the people. The plan was denounced as unsound as a financial policy, and as an attempt to inaugurate a system which conducted the government for its own advantage in the spirit of a monarchy, without sympathy for the people or regard for their interests. From the Senate-chamber to every platform in the land the policy of Mr. Van Buren was denounced with the utmost vehemence. The idea of providing a currency for the use of the government, and leaving the people to supply one for themselves, was declared to be an abandonment of one of the most important functions of an administration; it was insisted that the ruin of the business of the country was inevitable. For once capital and labor cooperated in their energetic and powerful effort to avert an impending disaster. Mr. Webster, in Wall Street, on the 28th of September, 1840, spoke at the merchants' meeting in behalf of the Whig policy, in contrast to that of Mr. Van Buren's administration, and said :

“ I hold the opinion that a mixed currency, composed partly of gold and silver and partly of good paper redeemable, and steadily redeemed in specie on demand, is the most useful and convenient for such a country as we inhabit, and is sure to continue to be used to a greater or less extent in these United States ; the idea of an exclusive, metallic currency, being either the mere fancy of theorists, or, what is nearer the truth, being employed as a means of popular delusion.”

This authentic utterance from the great statesman, who was the grandest representative of the Whig party, was received throughout the country as a clear and comprehensive proposition in regard to the financial system of the United States, entitled to as much consideration as if it had been pronounced by Alexander Hamilton. It sometimes happens in great political contests that a single phrase, indiscreetly uttered, decides the fortunes of a party. Unhappily for Mr. Van Buren, the editor of a

Democratic paper, soon after the nomination of General Harrison, ventured to ridicule the leader chosen by the Whig party to conduct it to victory. He said that General Harrison was harmless, and that, "if supplied with a barrel of hard cider and a good sea-coal fire, he would be content to pass the remainder of his days in his log-cabin, without aspiring to the presidency." Never in the history of political parties was a more momentous paragraph written; it was caught up instantly by the leaders of the Whig party all over the country. Mr. Van Buren was represented as rolling in splendor and luxury, enjoying the emoluments of his great office, while his partisans dared to ridicule the grand old soldier, who lived in retirement upon his humble means. All over the country log-cabins were constructed, and they were to be seen in villages, towns, and cities, adorned with the emblems of pioneer life—coon-skins, strings of red pepper, the simple gourd, and the rude door with the latch-string on the outside. Some of these structures were ample enough to accommodate large numbers of people, and were the headquarters for party gatherings; others were small, and, placed on wheels, were driven from place to place, sometimes to distant points to suit the exigencies of party tactics. The conspicuous object of all was a raccoon, living, active, a recognized member of the party, often placed on the platform where the speaker stood to address the people. I remember on one occasion, at a Whig meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, a most felicitous appeal was made by a gentleman addressing a listening crowd, when a large raccoon was thrown on the table in front of the speaker. He said: "That was an object to strike terror into the Democratic ranks; a leader of that party, if present, would have exclaimed with Macbeth:

" 'What man dare, I dare:

Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,

The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger;

Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves

Shall never tremble.' "

The personal qualities of Mr. Van Buren were not such as to endear him to the people; his great abilities and large attainments fitted him for the successful administration of public affairs, his fine presence and engaging manners gave him a controlling influence; but the people never warmed towards him, they distrusted his earnestness, and there was a general belief that he was given to intrigue. He owed his elevation to the presidency to the commanding influence of General Jackson. It was understood that he had broken the friendly relations, previously existing, between General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Van Buren was a friend of Mr. William Henry Crawford, of Georgia, who had been a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, while Mr. Calhoun was Secretary of War. An estrangement had long existed between General Jackson and Mr. Crawford, but through the intervention of Mr. Van Buren a reconciliation was brought about, and the hostility of General Jackson was transferred to Mr. Calhoun. General Jackson's friendships were warm, and his resentments unrelenting; this extraordinary man exerted a more powerful influence over the political affairs of the country than any one had acquired since the organization of the government. He had ended his official career and retired to the "Hermitage" before my visit to Washington, but I had seen him at an earlier period. While a student of law, in Columbia, South Carolina, not yet of age, I had been engaged to take charge of important law papers, and travelled to Nashville, Tenn., to place them in the hands of trustworthy counsel for adjustment. I made the journey alone, over mountains and through wildernesses, with my good horse and sulky, and reached Nashville safely. I took letters of introduction to General Jackson, and other eminent men. The day after my arrival I was standing in front of the Nashville Inn, where I lodged, and I observed in the door of a wing of the hotel a gentleman whose person arrested my attention;

he was stately and erect, handsomely dressed in black, without his hat, a pair of gold-framed glasses thrown up on his stiff, grayish hair, and a similar pair resting upon his nose. I felt at once that I stood in the presence of General Jackson. Advancing, I made myself known to him; he received me with a frank cordiality that charmed me; I had expected to meet a blunt soldier, but I found in General Jackson a gentleman of courtly manners, whose bearing I had never seen excelled in my whole intercourse with public men at home or abroad. During my stay in Nashville, General Jackson treated me with consideration and kindness, and I passed a night at the "Hermitage." This occurred but a few months before his elevation to the presidency. To this man Mr. Van Buren was indebted for his elevation to the envied office to which he had so long aspired, and which many believed he had won by arts better suited to the talents of Richelieu than to the frank and manly qualities of an American statesman. Against this able, adroit, and accomplished statesman, intrenched in power, the Whigs brought into the field General William Henry Harrison, a gentleman of spotless integrity, unaccustomed to the stratagems of politicians, who had won his laurels in the open field many years previously, and was now living in honorable retirement in his humble home on the banks of the Ohio. The contrast between the men was very striking; it was almost dramatic. As the canvass advanced, a sentiment lying deep in the heart of the American people was roused, which flamed up into enthusiasm, in behalf of the self-exiled hero who, like Cincinnatus, cultivated the soil, away from the pomp and emoluments of imperial power.

The name of John Tyler had a charm for the Southern people. He had sat as a senator, representing Virginia, when General Jackson ruled at Washington. Confronting the imposing authority of that imperious man, stood Mr. Calhoun, speaking for South Carolina. That illustrious

statesman rose into proportions of the highest grandeur in resisting a national policy which he regarded as unconstitutional, and meeting the threatening display of the power of the government wielded by General Jackson. When the "Force Bill" was before the Senate, the measure was opposed by Southern senators, who denounced it in vehement terms. Mr. Tyler displayed the highest patriotic ardor and statesman-like courage in his efforts to defeat it. His single vote stands recorded against the measure, other Southern senators having withdrawn from the Senate-chamber. I have already described Mr. Tyler, and have recorded the impression which he made on me at our first meeting; but it is proper to say something more at length of him as he stood before the country, a chosen candidate of the Whig party for the vice-presidency. Mr. Tyler's high rank among statesmen of Virginia gave him consideration before the meeting of the Harrisburg Convention, and after his nomination he advanced rapidly in public favor. His personal appearance was very attractive: six feet in height, spare and active, his movements displayed a natural grace, and his manner was cordial but dignified. His head was fine, the forehead high and well developed, the aquiline nose and brilliant eyes giving to his expression the eagle aspect, which distinguished him at all times, and especially in conversation. His frankness imparted an indescribable charm to his manners, and the rich treasure of his cultivated mind displayed itself without effort or ostentation in the Senate-chamber, and in conversation he surpassed even Mr. Calhoun. His loyalty to his friends was as true as that of General Jackson's; his integrity and his courage were conspicuous qualities, often exhibited in the course of his public career. In his freedom from stratagem, and the unreserve of his expressions in regard to political questions, he was as open as the day. It was understood that Mr. Van Buren had said to a friend he would any

day ride one hundred miles to meet a person with whom he desired to confer on politics, rather than communicate with him by a letter. Mr. Tyler was as bold as Mr. Clay in making his opinions known in regard to measures affecting the administration of the government.

The Whigs opened the campaign by a vigorous assault upon Mr. Van Buren's administration ; public meetings were held throughout the country to ratify the nominations made at Harrisburg. Upon my return to Alabama the Whig leaders decided to call a convention to assemble at Tuscaloosa, at that time the capital of the State. It was largely attended, and the ardor of the people was displayed as it never had been before in Alabama. Delegations came from the remote counties, some of them bringing with them log-cabins on wheels drawn by fine horses, and displaying the symbols of pioneer structures : the gourd, the string of red pepper, a barrel of cider, the latch-string of the door conspicuously hung on the outside, and the raccoon. A committee was chosen to receive the delegation from Dallas County ; and the chairman, drawing up his escort in front of the log-cabin, welcomed the new arrivals, saying : " We rejoice to see you ; we stand in the Pass of Thermopylæ." The eloquent Murphy, a man of the highest order of intellect and character, a leading lawyer in the State, replying for the delegation, said : " We know that we hold the Pass of Thermopylæ, and we have brought you Spartans to defend it." An address was prepared and issued to the people of the State. An electoral ticket was appointed, upon which my name was placed for the Montgomery Congressional district. Judge Hopkins, of Mobile, ex-Governor Gayle, General George W. Crabb, and other leading men were named as electors for other parts of the State. The convention, after a session of several days, adjourned, the delegates bearing with them the ardor awakened at the meeting to all parts of the State.

One of the greatest popular assemblages ever known in the South was held at Macon, Georgia; it was attended by many thousands, a large number coming from other States to take part in the grand Whig demonstration. Senator Berrien of Georgia presided, and Senator Preston of South Carolina with others addressed the vast multitude. Mr. Preston at that time was absolutely unrivalled as an orator; as he stood on the hustings, in the presence of the people, in his majestic proportions, denouncing an administration intrenched in power, his voice rising, at times, into tones of vehement passion, he recalled the description of Demosthenes:

“ Who
Shook the arsenal,
And fulmin’d o’er Greece.”

The political excitement pervaded the Union, and immense meetings were held throughout the country. They were animated beyond description, and were addressed by the ablest men.

Mr. Webster, in August, addressed a vast assemblage at Saratoga; crowded vehicles from the neighboring towns and surrounding country arrived at an early hour, and the railway trains brought vast multitudes. In a grove of pines, without undergrowth, some ten thousand persons were collected, and near the platform where Mr. Webster stood seats were provided for as many more; ladies were out in great numbers.

A great meeting was held on Bunker Hill, in November, 1840; the enthusiasm was unparalleled; a procession four miles in length, with banners and music, marched to the appointed place. Fifty barouches and carriages moved in the line containing Revolutionary soldiers, gentlemen of distinction from other States, and invited guests. Mr. Webster delivered a great speech, setting forth at length Whig principles and purposes.

Mr. Webster addressed a Whig convention at Richmond, on the 5th of October, standing in the Capitol Square, and delivered one of the greatest speeches of his life. There on that spot, standing under an "October sun," he vindicated the principles of free government. "It is an era in my life," he said, "to find myself on the soil of Virginia, addressing such an assemblage as is now before me; I feel it to be such, I deeply feel the responsibility of the part which has this day been thrown upon me. Although it is the first time I have addressed an assembly of my fellow-citizens upon the soil of Virginia, I hope I am not altogether unacquainted with the history, character, and sentiments of this venerable State. The topics which are now agitating the country, and which have brought us all here to-day, have no relation whatever with those on which I differ from the opinions she has ever entertained. The grievances and misgovernments which have roused the country pertain to that class of subjects which especially and peculiarly belong to Virginia, and have from the beginning of our history."

A pleasing incident of Mr. Webster's visit to Richmond, and which illustrates the spirit of the canvass of 1840, was an assemblage of the ladies of the city in the "Log-Cabin" where he addressed them collectively, in a brief and appropriate speech. Mr. Legaré of South Carolina, Mr. Wise of Virginia, and other eminent men addressed vast multitudes assembled at different points in the several States. In reply to the invitation to address a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, in the fall of 1840, Honorable Henry A. Wise, excusing himself from personal attendance, wrote a characteristic letter, giving as a toast for the occasion "The Light of the Log-Cabin."

As the canvass advanced, the enthusiasm of the people rose still higher, and the light of a coming victory for the Whig party began to illumine their banners. At one of the great assemblages, addressing the people, I

ventured to assure them of our complete triumph, and said :

“ We are on the eve of victory ; throughout the whole field we hear the sound of preparation for to-morrow’s battle ; armorers are busy closing rivets up ; if we could look in upon the tent of the leader of the opposing host, we should see him tossed upon a restless couch, disturbed with dreams of impending defeat ; he sees the lights burn blue, and on the stricken field we shall hear him exclaim like Richard, at Bosworth,

“ ‘ A horse ! a horse ! my kingdom for a horse ! ’ ”

The result was a splendid fulfilment of our ardent anticipations. Out of two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes, Mr. Van Buren received but sixty ; out of twenty-six States he received the votes of only seven.

General Harrison and Mr. Tyler, nominated at Harrisburg for President and Vice-President, were triumphantly elected.





CHAPTER III.

Inauguration of President Harrison—Death—Accession of Mr. Tyler—Mission to Belgium—Washington—New York—The Ocean—The Voyage—Arrival at Liverpool—High-Sheriff's Coach—Judge Maule.

GENERAL HARRISON'S inauguration was most impressive. Standing on the grand eastern portico of the Capitol, in front of which an immense concourse of the people, from all parts of the country, awaited the appearance of the new President, he delivered his inaugural address with animation, the tones of his voice reaching the farthest limits of the audience. In the language of an eminent senator: "It breathed a spirit of patriotism, which adversaries, as well as friends, admitted to be sincere and to come from the heart." Then the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Taney, administered the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and the new administration was opened. The President promptly sent to the Senate the names of the gentlemen chosen for his Cabinet, and the nominations were all unanimously confirmed. They were: Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary at War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, Postmaster-General; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. This organization of the Cabinet, composed of illustrious statesmen, was received by the country with the greatest satisfaction; it seemed that the light of a new day had risen upon the nation. On the 17th of March the President

issued a proclamation convoking the Congress in extraordinary session for the 31st of May. Towards the close of March the President was suddenly taken ill. There had been no decline in his health or strength, but on the 4th of April, one month from the day of his accession to power, General Harrison expired. He had not yet attained the age of seventy years; but within a month from the day when he stood in strength on the eastern portico of the Capitol before assembled thousands, the President lay dead in the White House. The old eagle had soared to the sun to die. The assembled Cabinet announced the death of the President to Mr. Tyler, the Vice-President, who was at his residence in Virginia, and invited him to come to Washington and enter upon his new duties. Mr. Tyler immediately proceeded to Washington, and upon his arrival was invested with the authority of President of the United States, in accordance with the forms of the Constitution. He assumed the high office with manly dignity, and the government proceeded on its course without the slightest disturbance in any of its departments. The event was impressive; it was the first time of its occurrence since the organization of that great and complex system—the Government of the United States.

Visiting Washington in June, I found Congress in session; the signs of anarchy in the Whig party were clearly visible. Mr. Clay, the real leader of the party, disclosed his purpose to compel the President to accept the measures which, as a senator, he dictated, without the slightest regard to Mr. Tyler's antecedents as a statesman. Imperious, unsparing in his denunciation of any one who faltered in support of his plans for the government of the country, he presented a grand spectacle. But Mr. Tyler, with equal firmness, declined to submit to the dictation of the illustrious senator. My friend, Mr. Preston, knew that I desired to fill a diplomatic

position in Europe ; before Mr. Tyler's accession to the presidency he had expressed his wish to see me appointed to the mission to Belgium. The Honorable Virgil Maxcy of Maryland had held the place under the administration of Mr. Van Buren, and was regarded with favor by Mr. Webster. It was understood that he was to come home, but the precise date of his resignation had not been fixed. So, during my stay in Washington, observing public affairs, Mr. Preston said to me that the Whig party, as represented in Congress, was about to go to pieces, and that he was authorized by the Secretary of State to tender to me the mission to Portugal ; Mr. Preston said that Mr. Webster had assured him that if I would consent to accept the mission to Portugal, my nomination should be made the next day, and he added that if I desired to go to Europe he felt it to be his duty as my friend to advise me to accept that mission. I replied, that while I desired to go abroad, I was not willing to go to any place not perfectly agreeable to me, and if I accepted office under the administration it must be upon terms that would not, to any extent, lessen my sense of self-respect. Mr. Preston commended my sentiments, but still advised me to have an interview with Mr. Webster. The next day I made a call on Mr. Webster at the Department of State, and was received by the Secretary with marked kindness. He stated his reasons for speaking to my friend, Mr. Preston, in regard to me, and said that General Barrow of Tennessee wished to be appointed to the mission to Portugal, but that he would inform him of the purpose of the administration to send me to Lisbon, if I would consent to take the place. I replied to Mr. Webster as I had to Mr. Preston, and said that, while I was sensible of the honor conferred on me by this mark of confidence, I was not willing to accept the mission to Portugal. Mr. Webster advised me to see the President, and leaving the Department of State, I

walked to the Executive Mansion, and was promptly received by Mr. Tyler. I stated what had been said to me by Mr. Preston, and later by Mr. Webster. The President assured me with perfect frankness that if I would consent to go to Portugal, my name should be sent to the Senate immediately ; but, he added : " If you are willing to wait, Mr. Hilliard, for a short time, you shall be appointed to the mission to Belgium." I replied, thanking the President in warm terms for his confidence and kindness, and added : " I will wait, Mr. President, for the mission to Belgium."

Returning to Montgomery, I gave attention to my law practice, which was remunerative. Some time after the opening of the session of the Congress in December the President, in a friendly letter, proposed, if it should be agreeable to me, to nominate me to the mission to Holland. I replied promptly, and stated to the President that I adhered to the purpose, previously made known to him, to wait for the appointment to Belgium, and that the mission to Holland would not be agreeable to me.

Mr. Maxcy continued to reside in Brussels, awaiting the appointment of his successor. Early in May the President sent to the Senate a message, communicating my appointment to the mission to Belgium. I have before me a letter from my friend, Mr. Preston, informing me of the result of my nomination, received by due course of mail. I transcribe it verbatim :

" SENATE CHAMBER,
 " Monday 9, May 42.
 " 1-2 3 o'clock.

" DEAR HILLIARD :—

" You are this moment confirmed.

" Yours,

" WM. C. PRESTON.

" Mr. Hilliard."

My appointment was officially announced in *The National Intelligencer*, but I did not receive a formal notification of it from the Department of State. I was engaged in a large law practice, and did not suspend it while I set about making ready for my departure for Europe; some weeks elapsed before I completed my preparations for leaving home. I decided to go to Brussels unaccompanied by my family and make arrangements for their reception. It was not before the last days of June that I found myself ready to leave Montgomery and proceed to Washington. Meanwhile I received letters from gentlemen in Washington informing me that it was rumored I did not intend to accept my appointment to Belgium, and asking to be satisfied as to that question by some direct assurance from myself. I replied, stating that I had never hesitated as to my acceptance of the mission, but that some delay had occurred in completing my home arrangements.

I received a letter from the President, of the kindest tone, referring to the rumor of my purpose to decline the appointment, urging its acceptance, and assuring me that the mission to Belgium had been from the first at my "unqualified disposal." I replied promptly, assuring the President of my appreciation of his confidence, and informing him of my purpose to proceed immediately to Washington. I was received at Washington by the President with great cordiality; I arrived on Saturday, and in the afternoon walked in the gardens surrounding the White House. I found a great number of visitors enjoying the fine day and attracted by the music rendered by the marine band. As I passed near the portico in the rear of the mansion I observed the President seated there with a group of gentlemen; he recognized me and, rising, invited me to join him, saying, as he extended his hand to me: "I began to fear that I should never see you again." I explained that some delay had occurred in my leaving home, and assured the President of the happiness

it afforded me to meet him once more. The President presented me to the gentlemen about him, and I passed a half hour in delightful conversation.

Mr. Preston was unremitting in his attentions, and taking me in his carriage, we drove to several places where he thought it proper that I should call. Lord Ashburton had recently come from England on a special mission to the United States and had taken the splendid mansion of Mr. Matthew St. Clair Clarke, one of the finest residences in Washington, opposite the White House, where he lived in a style suited to his rank. We drove to his residence, and Mr. Preston presented me to Lord Ashburton, saying that I was about to proceed to Brussels, having been appointed to the mission to Belgium by the President. Lord Ashburton treated me with consideration, and spoke of the King of the Belgians in a way that interested me, saying that, after having been invited to accept the crown, he had vindicated the choice of the Belgian people by maintaining his claim to power on the battlefield. Lord Ashburton's manners were engaging, and he made himself very agreeable to me, evidently disposed to show marked kindness to one so much younger than himself just about to enter the diplomatic service. We then called on Mr. Webster; he had taken the house near that of Lord Ashburton's, the splendid residence of that noble philanthropist, Mr. Corcoran, and which had been fitted up for the Secretary of State in a style of elegance suited to the position and tastes of that eminent statesman. We were shown into Mr. Webster's library, where we found him surrounded with books and papers, which attested that he was engaged in some great task. He looked careworn; not only did his face bear traces of deep and anxious thought, but his frame seemed bowed down under a weight of responsibility that would have crushed the shoulders of Saturn. He received Mr. Preston and myself in the most gracious way, and heightened

my interest in him by the display of his great powers, with rare frankness in speaking of the negotiations in which he was then engaged with Lord Ashburton. We took leave of Mr. Webster, and, as we descended the stairway, Mr. Preston said to me: "He will not live to see the 1st of January."

"Now," said Mr. Preston, "I wish to present you to Mrs. Madison; she is a glory." Mrs. Madison resided in a house fronting Lafayette Square, in the immediate neighborhood of the White House, and, as the widow of President Madison, attracted the regards of every one, while in her person and style of living she brought to us the memories of that period when, as Mistress of the White House, she reigned supreme in the realm of the society of the capital. She honored me with her kindest regards, and I felt in taking leave of her that I should bear with me to Europe the vivid memory of the best days of the republic.

Mr. Preston had given me a letter of introduction to Mr. Curtis, Collector of the Port of New York, and when I presented it he politely suggested that it might be interesting to me to visit the Brooklyn Navy Yard. I was accompanied by a young relative, Mr. Marcellus Stanley of Georgia, who had just graduated at the Randolph Macon College, Virginia, and at his request I arranged that he should accompany me to Europe. Mr. Curtis put his boat at my service, and sent a young gentleman with us with a note of introduction to Commodore Perry, who was at that time in command of the station. After a brief visit the Commodore suggested that I should visit the *North Carolina* and the *Mississippi*, then at anchor in the bay, and said that it might interest me to visit the *Warspite*, of the British navy, which had brought over Lord Ashburton. I found that the Commodore had dismissed Mr. Curtis' boat, and he put his own gig at my service, in command of a young officer of

the navy. I was received on board of the *North Carolina* with consideration, and after a short visit the officer in command dismissed the boat which had brought me to the ship and put his own gig at my service, instructing the young lieutenant in command to escort me to the *Warspite* and to the *Mississippi*. Sir John Hay, a distinguished officer of the British navy, and who had lost an arm in the service, received me on board the *Warspite*; he had brought Lord Ashburton to our country, and was awaiting his commands. Sir John, with marked courtesy, showed me through the ship, and when I had taken leave paid me the compliment of a salute from his guns. My visit to the *Mississippi* interested me; it was the first steamship built for our navy that I had seen, and upon leaving it also I was honored with a salute. Returning to the *North Carolina* I found a number of visitors on board, among them Honorable Walter T. Colquitt, a senator from Georgia, and a party of ladies, attracted to the ship to see one of our largest armed vessels; the evening was beautiful, and the view was charming. Thanking the Commodore for his courtesy, I took leave, and, to my surprise, was saluted by his guns as my boat drew away from the grand ship.

When I set out to visit the several ships, I did not anticipate anything more than an interesting inspection of them, but the young officer sent with me by Commodore Perry had made known my diplomatic rank, and I was honored accordingly. I had taken rooms at the American Hotel, presided over in magnificent style by Cozzens, who afterwards established a fine house at West Point. The next day was Sunday, and I attended divine service at the Episcopal Church of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, so distinguished for his eloquence and for the beauty and richness of his discourses. I was accompanied by Mr. Stanley, and we were both impressed by hearing read a request for the prayers of the church in behalf of two

gentlemen "about to go to sea." We were about to sail the next day, and the coincidence, while it was a surprise to us, was very pleasing. We sailed for Liverpool the next day, Monday, July 25th, in the noble packet-ship, *Roscius* of the Collins line.

Washington Irving, in writing of a voyage to Europe before the day of ocean steamships, and when the sails were spread that the winds might drive the good ship through the waves, describes the sensations that a passenger leaving home experiences.

"To an American visiting Europe, the long voyage that he has to make is an excellent preparative. The temporary absence of worldly scenes and employments produces a state of mind peculiarly fitted to receive new and vivid impressions. The vast space of waters that separates the hemispheres is like a blank page in existence. There is no gradual transition by which, as in Europe, the features and population of one country blend almost imperceptibly with those of another. From the moment you lose sight of the land you have left, all is vacancy, until you step on the opposite shore and are launched at once into the bustle and novelties of another world."

The ocean was to me an object of unfailing interest ; its vastness, its solitude, its ever heaving bosom recalled Byron's lines :

"Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
Glasses itself in tempests ; in all time,
Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
Dark-heaving ;—boundless, endless, and sublime—
The image of Eternity—the throne
Of the invisible."

The voyage was remarkable ; we had neither storm nor calm, but a favoring wind bore us on our way so prosperously that the topmast sails were never furled from the hour of our departure to that of our arrival. We made

the passage in less than seventeen days. As we caught the first sight of land, the coast of Ireland, we were all delighted ; we could trace on the hills, back of the bold cliffs the outlines of buildings, some of them resembling the ruins of old castles. When we entered the Mersey a fine breeze bore us to Liverpool, and we landed with grateful hearts and congratulations to the *Roscus*, that had borne us so bravely over the wide sea to old England, the land of our fathers, almost as dear to us as our own great country, which inherited its blood, its language, its laws, and its religion. The morning was fine and we drove to the "Adelphi" with light hearts.

Soon after my arrival I observed a coach drawn by four horses and with coachman and two footmen in rich livery stop in front of the hotel. Upon inquiring at the office I was informed that it was the coach of the High Sheriff, who had called to conduct the Judge, Sir J. Maule, to the court-house. I lost no time in making my way to the court-room, where for the first time I saw an English court of law in session. His Honor, Judge Maule, was in full state, with gown and wig, and the members of the bar wore the gown and smaller wigs. The High Sheriff seemed to be most formidable in the full display of official dignity. The spectacle was full of interest ; the contrast was striking between this impressive display of royal authority and the republican simplicity which I had so lately witnessed at home.





CHAPTER IV.

London—Edward Everett—Sir Robert Peel—An Evening in the House of Lords—The Duke of Wellington—Lord Lyndhurst—Lord Brougham—Mr. Bates, of Baring Bros.—Mr. Van der Weyer, Belgian Ambassador—Rothschild—Departure.

LONDON to an American who visits it for the first time is full of interest ; associations crowd upon him, the past and the present appeal to him ; great historical personages—scholars, poets, and illustrious men who swayed the fortunes of England—throng about him, while the great busy city, with its crowded thoroughfares, its splendid structures, its imposing spectacles, could not be shut out from sight and hearing ; there is nothing like it in all the world.

My first visit was paid to Mr. Edward Everett, the American Minister. Presenting letters of introduction, which had been given to me by the President and other gentlemen of distinction at Washington, he received me with the greatest cordiality, and from the first hour of our meeting extended to me not merely courtesies but rendered me important services. He occupied a house in Grosvenor Square, and lived with the dignity and elegance becoming to him as the Minister of the United States to the greatest power in the world. In the course of a few years I became associated with Mr. Everett intimately, and but a short time previous to his death I was his guest in Boston, so that I met him from time to time ; but I wish to present him here, delineating the man, the

scholar, and the statesman, as he ought to be known to his countrymen and to the world. Mr. Everett was at that time in the very maturity of his manhood ; his head was fine, arched, and well developed, the forehead displaying the faculty of imagination and rising into reverence ; his features were bold, but regular and classical ; his eyes were large, calm, and full of intelligence, and were dark hazel ; his hair was thick and clustered about the temples ; he wore no beard ; his person was finely proportioned, he stood nearly six feet in height, and his shoulders were broad and square ; his whole appearance recalled some classical personage living in the midst of our modern civilization. I should assign to Mr. Everett a high rank among our public men, giving him as he stood in a group of his contemporaries in Boston—so prolific in men of ability and renown—a place almost as conspicuous as that which was occupied by the grand form of Daniel Webster. His training had been thorough, educated in the most liberal sense for the pulpit and for the professor's chair, he was equal to any one in the country as a scholar, and rivalled De Quincey in his acquaintance with Greek, who it was said might have addressed with effect an audience in Athens. Advancing into the forum he displayed qualities and attainments that gave him rank with the first statesmen of the nation. He was the most faultless writer of the English language that the country has produced, and excelled in oratory to such a degree that he devoted his ripest faculties to paying tributes to the memory of the father of his country, so splendid as to remind us of Isocrates, who earned immortality by his panegyrics upon Athens.

Parliament was in session, and Sir Robert Peel was at the head of the government. Mr. Everett proposed that I should visit the House of Commons, as it was understood that Sir Robert would speak on a question of interest, and he gave me a card which admitted me to the

gallery for privileged visitors. I proceeded to the House of Commons and found that it had already adjourned for want of a quorum. Much disappointed I walked into a corridor leading to the House of Lords, and standing for a moment near the entrance from the street, I spoke to one of the ushers as to the surroundings, when I observed a gentleman approaching the door. The usher said to me: "Here comes the Duke." A moment later the Duke of Wellington passed me on his way to the chamber. His appearance was striking: tall, slender, erect, with some stateliness in his bearing; walking with activity and ease, the great Duke with a slight inclination passed me, giving me the coveted opportunity of observing the most distinguished man in Europe. His dress was that of a gentleman in morning costume, a dark frock-coat, pantaloons of light-colored cassimere, and a tall white hat. I entered the gallery of the House of Lords and found the body had already assembled. Lord Lyndhurst was seated on the wool-sack; the Duke of Wellington was in his seat, his head drooped; and some two or three bishops wearing their robes were in their places. In the rear of the wool-sack was the throne, occupied only occasionally by the Queen on great state days. Lord Lyndhurst's noble form was covered with the gown which the Lord Chancellor wears when presiding in the House of Lords, and he wore the great wig of his office, but still his appearance interested me deeply. His career has been extraordinary; he was born in Boston, the son of Mr. Copley, who was also a native of that city, but a British subject. Mr. Copley was a portrait painter, who earned his fame as an artist in this country, and removed to London before the colonies were separated from England. Young Copley grew up with the best training, and won honors at the university; called to the bar he advanced steadily, and while yet young attracted the attention of the leading men of England. He began his

career as a Liberal, but having displayed abilities so remarkable as to entitle him to consideration, the leaders of the Tory party being in power, showered honors upon him and secured him as an ally. He shone among the conspicuous men of England, and possessing, besides his splendid abilities, noble presence and fascinating manners, he rose to great distinction. When I saw him in the House of Lords he was for the first time Lord Chancellor, Sir Robert Peel being First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Lyndhurst before the close of his career became an earnest Christian, working faithfully for the great cause in his intercourse with the public men of the country by whom he was surrounded. Just before his death, which occurred in the ninety-second year of his age, he expressed his trust in the Lord Jesus Christ in the strongest terms, and when asked by a friend what his feelings were as he drew near the end, he replied: "I am happy; yes, supremely happy." As I observed Lord Lyndhurst on the wool-sack, surrounded by noblemen who had inherited ancestral honors, he seemed to me to be the chiefest in the attainment of his great distinction, for he had won his high place by his own personal qualities. I was so fortunate as to see Lord Brougham. He, too, had risen to high eminence by his great parts, and his presence in the House of Lords shed a splendor over the body. Of him Lord Lyndhurst is said to have remarked: "What is the House of Lords without Lord Brougham?" The question on which Lord Brougham rose to speak was not one of general importance, but some bill affecting the privileges of the City of London. I was amused to hear Lord Brougham pronounce the name of the city "Lunnon," in the clearest cockney style; his manner was fine, his voice pleasing, and he treated the subject in a way to make it interesting. I should have been much gratified to have heard him discuss some great question that brought out his wonderful powers. I had felt a great

interest in him, not merely because of his splendid abilities, but for his courageous and noble defence of Queen Caroline. That unhappy princess drew to her support the true, brave, and gallant men of England. When it was proposed in Parliament to strike her name from the list of royal persons embraced in the public service in the Church of England, one of the noble Lords protesting against it said :

“ It is proposed to add to the persecutions which the unhappy Princess has been made to endure, the most cruel of all, by withholding from her the prayers of the Church, wholly omitting her name from mention, and depriving her of the grace of the supplications offered for all, unless she is included in the petition for Divine succor for all those who are desolate and afflicted.”

There was infinite pathos in this speech. Lord Brougham led the noble body of public men who defended Queen Caroline, and it was impossible for me to hear him with indifference on any subject. He, too, lived to an advanced age, always full of vigor and interest ; his varied learning, his animated manner, his splendid abilities, the courage with which he bore himself in great debates, constituted him a statesman of wonderful power under every successive administration of the government. As I walked out of the chamber I felt that, while I had lost much in not hearing Sir Robert Peel, I had been compensated by an evening in the House of Lords.

I found a friend in Mr. Bates, of the great house of Baring Bros., a native of Massachusetts, who, when yet young, made his home in London and established a business so important and successful as to make him an object of public regard. He was invited to enter the house of Baring Bros., which attained to such eminence in the great metropolis at an early day as to constitute it one of the first commercial establishments of the world. Mr.

Bates lived with elegance, and his hospitality was such as to entitle him to social distinction in London. His attentions to me were so kind and constant as to make my stay in the city far more agreeable than it could have been under other circumstances. Mr. Van der Weyer, the Belgian Ambassador at London, had married a daughter of Mr. Bates, and the Queen of England was the god-mother of their children. Mr. Bates invited me to meet Mr. Van der Weyer at dinner, and I enjoyed the honor of being received as the guest of the family of the Ambassador from Belgium, the court to which I was accredited, before my presentation to the King in Brussels. Mr. Van der Weyer was one of that class of statesmen who rose to distinction by his attainments as a scholar; he contributed powerful support to the popular cause by his writings when Belgium asserted its independence of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and raised its own royal standard upon the organization of the new government. When Leopold became king he rewarded the signal services of Mr. Van der Weyer to his country by conferring on him the high distinction of Ambassador of Belgium to England.

The Government of the United States kept its accounts in Europe at that time with the house of Rothschild, in London. I called to present my letter of credit, and in a few moments I was invited to a personal interview with the great banker; he received me cordially and entered into a free conversation in regard to public affairs. I was impressed with the marked politeness of my reception, for I had heard that his manner was at times characterized by extreme hauteur. I found his conversation pleasing. I stated that it was my wish to draw some part of my salary before proceeding to Brussels, and he had it arranged for me promptly; a clerk came in bringing a roll of notes of the Bank of England, which looked really formidable. I had never seen a note of that description,

and as the package was too large for my small portemonnaie I placed it in the side pocket of my coat. Mr. Rothschild advised me to bestow some care on the package if I entered a public conveyance, as a gentleman sometimes loses his money by the adroitness of a fellow-passenger. I had enjoyed a conversation with one of the most important men in Europe, one with whom princes dealt, and who exerted a pronounced influence upon the fortunes of crowned heads.

I passed a few days in visiting places of public interest in London, and found the time too limited for the gratification of my desire to explore even a few of the lines of research that opened all around me.

I was much indebted to the kind offices of Mr. John Miller, a despatch agent of our government, who contributed, by the most assiduous and intelligent attentions to my wishes, to make my stay in London perfectly satisfactory. He secured for me state-rooms on one of a line of steamboats leaving for Antwerp daily ; and with my young relative, Mr. Stanley, I embarked for that port. I could have secured a shorter passage by sailing for Ostend, but I preferred the other line, and I found that my choice was fortunate. It was at that time, and is still, I learn, the most agreeable route from London to the coast of Belgium ; it was a run of some twenty-four hours from the Thames to the fine old town on the Scheldt.





CHAPTER V.

Antwerp—Brussels—Honorable Virgil Maxcy—Hotel de France—Great Military Review on the Banks of the Rhine—Cologne—Aix-la-Chapelle—Splendid Reception by the King of Prussia—Baron Humboldt—Return to Brussels.

ANTWERP was as strange to me as it was interesting. The whole aspect of the place was unlike anything I had ever seen before ; its old buildings of the Spanish style of architecture ; its ancient streets, as quiet as if nothing new or modern had ever disturbed them ; its grand cathedral ; its hotels, indescribable and delightful ; its great shipping, bearing the wealth of nations to its ample port ; its huge horses, drawing drays over its roughly paved streets, strangely impressed me. At intervals of fifteen minutes the bells of the cathedral tower were heard in exquisite chimes ; and a walk of a few minutes took me to a world as far removed from commerce as if by some strange power I had been transported into some earlier century. Yet Antwerp is a place of active and important commercial transactions ; Napoleon made it a place of rendezvous for men-of-war ; with his practical sense, however, he made there a place of anchorage, wholly distinct from the commercial docks, which are capable of holding two thousand vessels ; they are formed into four canals, on which storehouses are built ; and the merchant is enabled to crane his goods from shipboard into his warehouse. Antwerp is renowned for its military structures, its sieges, and heroic defences, from the time

of the Duke of Alba to the assault of the united troops of Belgium and France, made in 1832. The history of Antwerp for three hundred years has not only been without a blemish, but is highly honorable. The churches of the city are full of interest; they contain some splendid paintings; in the cathedral there is to be seen the finest picture in the world—"The Descent from the Cross," by Rubens; this unrivalled picture was sent by Napoleon to the Louvre, but was restored by the King of France, after the fall of the great Emperor, who would have made Paris the capital of Europe. Some persons of critical taste prefer the altar-piece, by the same painter; it represents the "Assumption," and is wonderfully beautiful; groups of visitors gather about it and gaze for hours upon the picture, finding in it an irresistible charm. The cathedral is one of the finest in Europe; its spire, four hundred and sixty-six feet high, of open stonework, is exquisite; Charles V. said it should be kept under a glass case; and Napoleon remarked that it was as fine as Mechlin lace. At the Church of St. Jacques is a splendid picture—"The Saviour Crucified," by Vandyke; it is a very beautiful picture. In the Church of St. Andrew there is a monument to the memory of Mary Queen of Scots, erected by two English women; the inscription ranks the beautiful woman, so cruelly put to death by the order of her heartless rival, Queen Elizabeth, as a martyr. On the Place Verte is a fine statue of Rubens. I could not linger in the fine old city that so deeply interested me.

Brussels, twenty-five miles distant, is reached by a fine railway; we took the train, and in the course of an hour entered the beautiful environs of the capital. Before leaving Washington, the Belgian Minister had spoken to me of the Hotel de France in such terms that I drove to it immediately and engaged a handsome suite of apartments. The hotel is delightfully situated near the park, which is surrounded by a square of palaces and the resi-

dences of Belgian ministers and foreign ambassadors ; the outlook was charming, and my first impressions of Belgium were of the most pleasing kind. Honorable Virgil Maxcy, my predecessor, was awaiting my arrival, and I found that he had apartments in the Hotel de France, Mrs. Maxcy being with him. They received me most hospitably. Mr. Maxcy was a citizen of Maryland, and he had been appointed Minister to Belgium to succeed Honorable Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina. Mr. Legaré was the first diplomatic representative appointed by the United States to Belgium upon the organization of that kingdom after its separation from Holland, the two countries having been united under one government—the Netherlands—by the Congress of Vienna, after the overthrow of Napoleon. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had married the Princess Charlotte, the daughter of George IV., and since her death had continued to reside in England, was offered the crown by the Ministry and the National Congress of Belgium, and under the sanction of the great powers of Europe had accepted it ; his coronation took place July 21, 1831.

Mr. Legaré was at the time of his appointment to this important mission residing in Charleston, S. C. ; he was one of the ablest and most accomplished statesmen of the country, and would have adorned any station at home or abroad. He resided at Brussels for some years, and upon his retirement from the mission, Mr. Maxcy of Maryland was chosen to succeed him. Mr. Maxcy was a gentleman of fine culture and most agreeable manners, living with elegance, and at all times maintaining the dignity of his station ; he extended hospitalities to his countrymen who visited Brussels. Both Mr. Legaré and Mr. Maxcy lived in a style which was becoming to the representatives of a great nation, at the court where the European governments sent their ablest diplomatists, and which was unsurpassed for the splendor of its surroundings.

The King of Prussia proposed to provide a great military spectacle on the Rhine, near Bonn, and he invited the sovereigns of Europe and other men of importance to be present. Mr. Maxcy desired to observe this splendid exhibit, and, as King Leopold had accepted the invitation to attend it, he proposed that we should accompany his Majesty, forming part of his suite ; yielding to Mr. Maxcy's wish, I consented to defer my presentation at court until our return from the excursion. Arriving at Cologne we endeavored to provide ourselves with horses, that we might observe the military movements with advantage, but the demand for them was so great that we could not secure them. We got no further in our preparations than to buy spurs for our boots, and I was much amused to find upon my return to Brussels these important articles in my valise, to remind me of the field and its glories, where, from an open carriage, we had witnessed feats of horsemanship performed by others. The spectacle was splendid ; some fifty thousand troops were on the field, and brilliant manœuvres were executed under the eyes of the most distinguished commanders in Europe ; villages were assaulted and taken, the long lines of infantry held their ground, and great bodies of cavalry charged with impetuous gallantry. Ladies were present in great numbers, their splendid equipages appearing on different points of the field as the shifting fortunes of mimic warfare attracted them. The Queen of Prussia with her brilliant escort made a central object, and about her coach were grouped others filled with the attendants who gave so much splendor to the court circle. I was introduced to Prince George of Cambridge, a cousin of Queen Victoria, and at this time Commander-in-chief of the British Army ; I was much pleased with him, and enjoyed a friendly conversation with the young prince.

The royal party passed the day at Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of Charlemagne, and the visit to the cathedral was

full of interest. The King and Queen of Prussia, the King of the Belgians and his suite, and many others connected with royalty were received in the church with great distinction ; as one of the suite of King Leopold, I enjoyed the privilege of seeing the exhibition of objects rarely shown. The position of the tomb in which the remains of Charlemagne had been interred was pointed out to us. It was marked by a slab of marble under the centre of the dome, inscribed with the words "Carlo Magno." A massive brazen chandelier hangs above it, the gift of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. We were invited to enter the sacristy, rich in relics shown but once in seven years to the people, but on this occasion exhibited to our view. These relics were presented to Charlemagne by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by Haroun, King of Persia ; and are deposited in a rich shrine of gilt silver, the work of artists of the ninth century. Among them we were shown what we were assured was the robe worn by the virgin at the nativity ; the cloth on which the head of John the Baptist was laid ; the scarf worn by our Saviour at the crucifixion, bearing stains of blood. There were, besides these, two objects of priceless value—a locket containing the Virgin's hair, and a piece of the true cross ; Charlemagne wore it on his breast while living, and in his tomb. The piece of the true cross had actually been presented to Charlemagne by the Bishop of Jerusalem. I touched this object with vivid interest ; it had been accepted by Charlemagne with deep veneration, and had been worn upon his heart more than a thousand years since.

About half a mile from Aix-la-Chapelle is a hill, called the Louisberg, about two hundred feet high, and on its summit stands the Belvedere, with a saloon commanding an extensive prospect. In this place a splendid entertainment was given in the evening by the King and Queen of Prussia. I met there the most distinguished people from

different parts of Europe. The queen was charming—she received her guests with winning cordiality. I had the honor of being presented to her by the venerable Baron von Humboldt, her chamberlain. I found this eminent man one of the most agreeable persons I had ever met, and enjoyed for some time a conversation with him, by which I felt honored as well as entertained. A large number of persons of the highest rank enjoyed the brilliant reception, among them, besides the King and Queen of Prussia, were Leopold, King of the Belgians, the King of Württemberg, the Grand Duke of Nassau, Archduke John, a brother of the Emperor of Austria, and two sons of the King of Holland. A balcony surrounded the building, and a large number of the guests had passed out on it that they might observe the pyrotechnical display on the plain below; and I, supposing that the royal personages were outside, stood at a window looking at the exhibition, when some one in uniform said to me: “*Prenez-garde,*” and I found myself unconsciously standing in front of Archduke John of Austria—one must not turn his back on royalty,—and I bowed and gave way to the distinguished-looking gentleman whose presence alone would have entitled him to consideration, if his rank had not secured it. Not only was he of the royal family of Austria, but he was the brother of the great Archduke Charles, who had won distinction as a soldier while holding his troops steadily against the advance of that greatest of captains—Napoleon.

Returning to Brussels I felt myself indebted to Mr. Maxcy for having invited me to make the excursion which had afforded both of us so much pleasure.

In the course of a few days, Mr. Maxcy, having completed his arrangements, took leave and returned to the United States. Within a few months I was shocked to receive an account of his sudden death on board the *Princeton*, while he was visiting the ship with a distin-

guished party assembled to witness the working of her machinery. On the morning of the 28th of February, 1843, Commodore Stockton, surrounded by his guests on board the steamer man-of-war *Princeton*, proposed to exhibit to them the formidable guns which were to throw balls of two hundred and twenty-five pounds each. The President of the United States, his Cabinet, members of both houses of Congress, with distinguished citizens, and a number of ladies, led by Mrs. Madison, were interested observers. The vessel had proceeded down the Potomac below Mount Vernon, and was on her return, the guns firing well, when, about four o'clock in the afternoon, it was proposed to fire, once more, one of the great guns under favorable conditions. The gun was fired, bursting on one side and throwing a large fragment on the group of persons standing there, crushing the front rank with its immense weight. In the group, consisting of Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, and others, stood my friend, Mr. Maxcy; they were instantly killed by the explosion. He was a man of generous nature, and though no longer young, loved society, and rarely lost an opportunity for witnessing a public spectacle; he left a family devoted to him, and I afterwards met in Washington one of his daughters, the wife of Mr. Markoe, of the Department of State, a charming woman, who would have graced the society of any city. His death afforded a sad lesson upon the evanescence of life and the instability of human affairs.





CHAPTER VI.

King Leopold and the Queen—Diplomatic Representatives at the Court—
Dinner at the Palace at Læken—My Residence near the Park—
Arrangements for Living.

THE King of the Belgians was one of the first statesmen in Europe. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg visited England while yet a young man, and at once attracted attention, not only from his connection with that noble house, but from his person, his qualities, and his training; no prince of his time surpassed him in the accomplishments that adorn high station. After being thoroughly educated he entered the Austrian service, where he acquired a knowledge of military affairs, and upon relinquishing his command he decided to pass some time in England, where his sister, the Duchess of Kent, resided. The Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV., was then just appearing in the court circle, which she adorned by her youth, her beauty, her accomplishments, and those qualities of mind and character which impart the highest charm even to one in the most exalted station of life. She was the object of universal regard in England, and the heart of the nation rejoiced in her as one destined to bring to the throne the charms which, blended in a woman with the sovereign, shed lustre upon a reign. Prince Leopold and the Princess Charlotte attracted each other, and their marriage was not only approved by the royal family, but by the people of England; Parliament voted the sum of fifty thousand pounds annually for the

Prince ; and the splendid residence, Claremont, was settled on him. Never did a brighter morning rise upon two young people ; but within a few months the Princess died, giving birth to a still-born child. The Prince continued to reside at his splendid seat, respected by all, and studied the political institutions of England. In 1830 he was offered the crown of Greece, which he refused to accept. The following year he was chosen King of the Belgians, and took the throne with the sanction of the great powers of Europe ; he had just attained his fortieth year, and entered upon the administration of the new government with splendid qualifications for the great task. The coronation of the King, Leopold I., took place July 21, 1831. In the course of the next year he married the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe, King of the French. The young Queen brought to her splendid station all the qualities that could be desired in a reigning princess, and all the accomplishments that could make her attractive as a woman. The King was a man of impressive presence, standing the full height of six feet, of fine proportions, and military bearing ; of bronze complexion, black hair, and dark eyes, he would have been observed in any circle. The Queen was a beautiful woman, with fine complexion, fair hair, blue eyes, a face of pleasing contour, a form tall and graceful ; with a warmth of manner that was eminently gracious, she moved in the circle where she reigned the object of universal regard. It was a court of unsurpassed splendor, all its appointments, which were those of the English style, displayed elegance regulated by perfect taste. The carriage of the King was drawn by four splendid bays, with postilions in rich livery ; that of the Queen was distinguished with equal taste, the four horses were gray, and the postilions and outriders wore a splendid livery. The Diplomatic Corps at Brussels was composed of distinguished men : Mr. Falk, of Holland, was conceded to be

the most eminent member of the body ; this was accorded to him for his long and successful career, and for his early appearance at court as the representative of his country. His position required skill and weight of character, and he possessed both. The Marquis de Rumigny was the French Ambassador, holding, next to the Nuncio of the Pope, the highest rank in the Diplomatic Corps ; he had a charming family, his daughters contributing much to the society of the capital. Sir Hamilton Seymour was the English Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and Lady Seymour, a beautiful and noble woman, aided him in giving to his important official position the added charm of profuse and elegant hospitality. I enjoyed with these eminent men a most agreeable intercourse, which was the more gratifying to me as I was much younger, and had just entered upon my diplomatic career. I was upon terms of the most friendly intercourse, too, with Count de Deitreichstein, the Minister of Austria, who was more nearly of my own age ; his wife was very beautiful, a Polish princess, who gave a great charm to social life. There were others who contributed much to the interest of my residence, by attentions extended to me both officially and socially.

Just outside of the northern limits of Brussels is the Allée Verte, one of the most delightful drives in the world, bordered on one side by a path for pedestrians, by the canal on the other, beautifully shaded by a triple row of trees. An evening drive along this avenue, when the lingering rays of the setting sun guild the tree-tops and a fragrance of new-mown hay is in the air, is perfect in its enjoyment. A little way from the end of this road you cross the bridge and arrive at Laeken, a seat of a royal residence, one of the most charming in the world. It was built by Albert, Archduke of Saxony, Governor of Flanders, in 1782, from the plans drawn by himself. Napoleon purchased it and made it a present to Joseph-

ine, and here he signed the declaration of war against Russia, and drew the plan of that disastrous campaign that led to his overthrow.

Their Majesties were residing at this palace when I arrived at Brussels, and they did not leave it to return to the royal residence in the city until the autumn had passed. The King gave a dinner at Laeken soon after our return from the excursion to the Rhine, and I was honored with an invitation; the guests were the members of the Diplomatic Corps and other persons of distinction. Among them was a statesman who, at that time, attracted the attention of Europe, Mr. Olazaga, who was for some time at the head of the Spanish Ministry; he retired from the government, and left Spain under the grave accusation of lese-majeste, in compelling the young Queen to sign a paper which did not meet her approval. He was a person of interesting appearance, and was understood to possess abilities of a high order. The guests were standing in the usual way to receive their Majesties, when the King entered, leading by the hand a child of some four years of age, of remarkable beauty, her black hair, rosy complexion, and dark eyes constituting her an object of rare attraction; she was the youngest child of their Majesties, their daughter Carlotta; the Queen, attended by her ladies of honor, came in at the same time. The King wore an evening dress of black and small-clothes with the Order of the Garter; his dress was singularly becoming to him, and the little girl who walked by his side heightened the interest of his appearance. If we could have looked through the vista of coming years, we should have seen that child, grown to womanly beauty, acting a part in the world's history of splendid and tragic coloring. Carlotta, daughter of the King and Queen, the central figures of that brilliant circle, became the wife of Maximilian, brother of the reigning Emperor of Austria, and, not long after her marriage, Empress of Mexico,

sharing the fortunes of her generous and accomplished husband in his splendid career in Mexico, shedding added lustre upon his reign; she was overcome by his tragic death, and a rayless shadow settled upon the brightness of her youth. But on that evening in the palace at Laeken everything was bright and joyous, and the evening closed in cloudless splendor.

My family had not joined me, but I decided to take a house at once and occupy it with Mr. Stanley, feeling that it was proper to have my own establishment where I might entertain my countrymen, and reciprocate in some way the hospitality showered upon me; its situation was charming, being on the side of the park opposite the Hotel de France, and near the royal palace. I had taken into my service, from the time of Mr. Maxcy's departure, his footman, an experienced, accomplished, and trustworthy man, who spoke several languages, and was thoroughly acquainted with the way of living in Brussels; such was Antoine, a native Belgian, who had seen much of the world, having travelled as courier with the English and French families visiting Germany and Italy. He had served Mr. Maxcy well, and he was so faithful to me that I retained him in my service during my entire residence in Brussels; he not only spoke Flemish but French, Spanish, and English fluently, not always correctly nor elegantly, but in a way to make himself very useful; his English speech was amusing, omitting and adding consonants in the most approved cockney style, but he was faithful always. Mr. Legaré, the first Minister of the United States to Belgium, and Mr. Maxcy, my immediate predecessor, had both maintained the dignity of their official relations to the court in a way to make it proper that I should live in the same style, and I did so from the beginning of my service to its conclusion. There were many of my countrymen visiting Brussels, and I entertained them with sincere pleasure. There were

many English residents in Brussels who contributed to the interest of social life, some of them living expensively, and entertaining with generous hospitality. This made a residence in Brussels much more expensive than it had been some years previously ; and I believe that it now requires almost as large an income to live there as it does in Paris. A carriage is an expensive luxury where the horses and all the appointments of an elegant establishment are selected to suit one accustomed to indulge his taste in that way, and in Brussels there is much display in equipages used by persons in official stations. The drives are fine, the environs most attractive, and a carriage affords a most delightful recreation. The walks, too, in the parks and on the gay boulevards which surround the city are both delightful and invigorating. All this I enjoyed greatly, after I settled myself in my own house and made satisfactory arrangements for living.





CHAPTER VII.

The Government of Belgium—The Royal Palace—The Chamber of Representatives, or Palais de la Nation—The Burgundian Library—The Hotel de Ville—The Forest of Soignies—Excursion to Waterloo—The Battle—Napoleon.

THE government of Belgium is one of the freest in Europe; it is constitutional, it is a limited monarchy with male succession, and in default of male issue the king may nominate his successor with the consent of the Chambers. The Chambers consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The House of Representatives is composed of members representing forty-six thousand of the population, elected for four years, except in case of dissolution, a half retiring every two years. The Senate has half the number of the House, elected for eight years, a half retiring every four years. The representatives are paid for their services; senators receive no pay. Laws may originate in either house, but money-bills must be framed originally in the House of Representatives. The Chambers assemble annually. The king may dissolve the Chambers, but the act of dissolution must provide for their re-assembling within two months. The ministry consists of six departments; Foreign Affairs; Finance; Justice; Public Works; War; and the Interior. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is Premier. Among the constitutional prerogatives of the crown is that of conferring titles on the nobility, but the nobility do not constitute an order in the state; all

they possess is the title, without any personal privilege. The elementary propositions of the constitution are: the sovereignty of the people; the representative system; individual liberty; inviolability of domicile and property; liberty and independence of religious worship; the right of assembling in public; the right of association; liberty of instruction; liberty of the press; ministerial responsibility; and the independence of the judiciary. Trial by jury on a political charge, and the offences of the press, provided for. Taxes and the army contingent must be paid annually. The law is administered by local and provincial tribunals, with courts of appeal at Brussels, Ghent, and Liege. Under the Romans the country formed a part of Gallia Belgica, a name derived from the original inhabitants. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, describes them as brave and fearless. The history of Belgium is eventful, illustrious, and glorious; and it is to-day one of the most beautiful, prosperous, and charming countries in Europe. The royal palace, in Brussels, overlooks the park; it is an extensive but not impressive building, with splendid suites of apartments, richly furnished. I observed in one of the rooms a full-length portrait of Queen Victoria, representing her as she stood in youthful grace upon her accession to the throne of England. The Chamber of Representatives, or the Palais de la Nation, built by Maria Theresa for the meetings of the Councils of Brabant, stands at the opposite end of the park, facing the royal palace; it is beautifully situated, and the rooms are handsomely fitted up, resembling the French Chamber in Paris. The Burgundian Library is an object of great interest; it contains sixteen thousand MSS. of great value. They were collected at a very early period by the Dukes of Burgundy; many are richly adorned with precious miniature paintings of the greatest value, by the scholars of Van Eyck. This splendid collection has been twice taken to Paris by the victorious French, when Na-

oleon proposed to make that city the capital of Europe. The Hotel de Ville, in the Grande Place, is one of the grandest municipal palaces in the Netherlands, and unrivalled for splendor as well as for historical associations. It was completed in 1442. The beautiful tower of Gothic open work, three hundred and sixty-four feet high, is one of the most striking objects in Brussels; the copper figure of Saint Michael on the summit, which turns with the wind, is seventeen feet high. The view from the spire is extensive, taking in Waterloo, its colossal mound, and the rich forest of Soignies. I found the highest interest in the building, in the historical incident of the abdication of Charles V., which took place in the grand hall in 1555; an event depicted on the rich tapestry, still preserved. The market-place, in front of this magnificent building, is full of interest; Counts Egmont and Horn were beheaded on this spot, in 1568, by the order of Alva, who looked at the execution from a window of an old Gothic house opposite, which still stands—the Maison du Roi. Here also, just before the battle of Waterloo, the Duchess of Richmond gave her ball, attended by the Duke of Wellington and a number of his officers. The scene is described by Byron, in “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage”:

“ There was a sound of revelry by night,
 And Belgium’s capital had gathered then
 Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright
 The lamps shone o’er fair women and brave men;
 A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
 Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
 Soft eyes look’d love to eyes which spake again,
 And all went merry as a marriage bell;
 But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

“ And there was mounting in hot haste: the steed,
 The mustering squadron, and the clattering car
 Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
 And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;
 And the deep thunder peal on peal afar.”

I decided to visit Waterloo, and go over the field under intelligent guidance, that I might study the parts of that great drama fairly, and make up a judgment that would be approved by the best authorities of our own day, and in accord with authentic history. I was accompanied by my young relative, Mr. Stanley, and we made an early start that we might not be hurried in our explorations of the battle-ground, where the fate of modern Europe was decided. The day was singularly fine, the sun shone out in his strength, and shed a splendor upon the forest through which the road passed. In quitting Brussels by the *Porte de Namur* the road runs directly in front of the former residence of *Madame Malibran*, unrivalled in song, and just beyond it enters a narrow, deep gorge overhung by high wooded banks. Through this pass, sombre even at noon-day, many of the officers of Wellington rode at night, summoned suddenly from the ball-room of the *Duchess of Richmond* to join their commands on the field. The forest of *Soignies* extends to the village of Waterloo; it is called by Lord Byron, in his lines describing the scene, *Ardennes*, which he represents as "dewy with nature's tear-drops, as they pass." Emerging from the forest, the village of Waterloo is reached, and a view caught of the celebrated field. Southey's description of the wood and the field, as immortal as that of *Marathon*, is accurate and beautiful. At this village the Duke of Wellington fixed his headquarters, and from this place his despatches were dated; therefore the battle bears its name, though the field is more than two miles distant, and about ten miles from Brussels. After reaching Waterloo we halted for a short time, and then drove to the battle-field, and made our way directly to *Hougomont*, the most important and hotly contested position during the mighty struggle. The building was formerly a Flemish *château* of some pretension, surrounded by about four acres of ground, inclosed with a brick wall. Every-

thing about the spot attests the fierceness of the struggle that raged there, when contending armies fought for the empire of the world. The marks of cannon-balls and musket-shots are still visible, and the charred timbers show that fire was used as an element of destruction against the occupants of the building. If Napoleon had taken this position in the assault at the opening of the battle he would have won the day, and Europe would have been once more at his feet; it is the most important spot in the history of modern warfare. It is well known that a night of storm preceded the day of battle. The rain fell in torrents. The morning dawned heavily, and it was far in advance before the artillery could be moved; the wheels of the gun-carriages sank to the axle. The Emperor was on the field early; he was not cheered by the sun of Austerlitz, but the great soul shone out in full splendor. Never had his genius been more supreme; the light of anticipated victory illumined his face. He sat at a table with the map of the field spread before him, and explained to Soult and Ney his plan of battle; it has been pronounced perfect by the greatest soldiers of the world. The allied army, under the command of Wellington, had already taken its position; its right wing, drawn out behind Hougomont, was protected by a thick wood, while its left rested on a farm of La Haye Sainte. The farm of Mont St. Jean was the exact centre of the British line; their advanced lines were formed on the crest of the hill, while a large proportion of the troops were protected by the sloping ground back of it from the destructive fire of the French artillery. The configuration of the field was such that the allied army stood on ground somewhat more elevated than that where the French lines were formed. Victor Hugo describes the Emperor as he appeared on the field at the dawn of June the 18th :

"Before we show him, all the world has seen him. The calm profile under the little hat of the Brienne school, the green uniform, the white facings concealing the decorations, the great-coat concealing epaulets, the red ribbon under the waistcoat, the leather breeches, the white horse with its housings of purple velvet, having in the corners crowned *N*'s and eagles ; the riding-boots drawn over the silk stockings, the silver spurs, the sword of Marengo ; the whole appearance of the last of the Cæsars rising before every mind, applauded by some, and regarded sternly by others."

When the first gun was fired, the cannon-shot that opened the battle, the English general, Colville, drew out his watch and saw that it was twenty-five minutes to twelve ; the precious hours of a summer morning had been lost. The Emperor had the previous day defeated the Prussians at Ligny, preventing a junction with Wellington ; Marshal Grouchy had been sent in pursuit of them with thirty-two thousand men and one hundred and ten guns. His orders were to keep between Blucher and the British army, which the Emperor was about to attack. The battle opened with a furious assault upon Hougomont by several divisions under the command of the Emperor's brother, Jerome, and a terrific and long struggle followed. The combatants on both sides fought with desperate courage ; the English that held the château could not be driven out ; they defended it with heroic resolution against the furious valor of the assailants. But the French took the wood that skirted the château, and drove back the wing of the allied army that rested there, and held the position to the end of the battle. Meanwhile the engagement became general ; the fighting along the whole line was furious. Wellington found it necessary to strengthen the centre of his line ; the advancing masses of the French threatened to break it. The Emperor at this time saw on his right, at a distance, a body of troops approaching ; he supposed it was Grouchy coming up to effect a junction with him,

but an officer sent to observe them, returning, reported them to be Prussians, under the command of Bulow. The Emperor detached three thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry to hold Bulow in check. At five o'clock the Emperor sent an order by Bernard to Ney to take the plateau at La Haye Sainte. The Marshal placed himself at the head of the cuirassiers. That powerful body of men, splendidly mounted, advanced at a swift trot; not a plume fluttered on their steel helmets, not an ornament visible on their wrought-iron breast-plates, and as they gained the summit of the slope they dashed in an impetuous charge upon the columns drawn up before them; the steady squares reeled, yielded; La Haye Sainte was taken, guns were captured by the cuirassiers, and six stands of colors were laid at the feet of the Emperor as he sat on his horse at La Belle Alliance, overlooking the field. At the same moment the Prussians, under Bulow, were repulsed. It seemed that the field was won; the Emperor's eyes shone with the old light of victory. The Duke comprehended the full extent of his danger, but he sat his horse steady, inflexible, and with supreme courage. His troops slowly receding before the advancing masses of the French, officers of his staff falling at his side, shells bursting at his feet, he held his position; he felt that the fate of Europe would be decided upon that field; he rose to the height of grandeur as he confronted the advancing hosts that were pressing his yielding columns back upon him. Gordon was killed by his side, and Hill, comprehending the danger of his chief, said: "My lord, what are your instructions, and what orders do you leave us if you are killed?" "Do as I am doing," Wellington answered. Picton was already killed by a musket-ball through the brain; he commanded the left wing until he fell. Wellington felt the charge of the cuirassiers; he could not restrain the expression of his tribute to their impetuous courage, but he was unshaken.

He took out his watch to see how much of the day was left ; it was five o'clock, and it is said he uttered the words : " Night, or Blucher." At this moment, when the French had taken the greater part of the field, and it seemed that even English valor and strength must give way, a Prussian corps, under Zeither, reached the field, and another corps, commanded by Pirch, was seen approaching. The Emperor sat on his white horse and swept the field with his glass ; he observed what was taking place, and saw what he had yet to do to complete his victory. The centre of the British line stood firm, the Iron Duke behind it. Grouchy was nowhere to be seen, but fifty thousand fresh Prussian troops, bringing a hundred and twenty guns, had taken position on the right flank of the French columns. It was seven o'clock, suddenly the sun shone out, gilding the standards and arms of the contending armies. Still the Emperor was looking for the light of victory ; courage sat on his laurelled brow ; out of thirty pitched battles, the greatest that had been fought, he had lost but one. The fate of Europe was at stake ; here he could not fail. Cæsar had his Tenth Legion, the Emperor had his Imperial Guard. They were accustomed to appear with their eagles when a hard-fought field was to be won by a decisive blow ; twenty times had the Emperor seen them break the lines that had resisted every other assault ; twenty times had he seen them bear the fortunes of the empire with them to the field, where contending hosts struggled for the mastery, and as often returned with the captured standards of the enemy. They were drawn up near him ; he threw a glance along their lines ; every eye was fixed upon him. He called Ney to his side and spoke with him for a moment ; he then gave the Marshal the order to lead the guard : Ney dashed to his position. The Emperor rode at the head of the column to the rising ground where they were to make their last charge ; then,

turning to the Guard, with a glance of victory, he gave the command to Ney. The Marshal drew his sword, saluted the Emperor, and gave the order to advance. Along the whole line a prolonged shout of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" broke forth ; it was heard all over the field. Then the Guard moved forward, every division under the command of a general, and all led by a marshal of France, who bore the title of the Bravest of the Brave. The level rays of the setting sun beamed on their eagles as they advanced with unparalleled intrepidity, under a terrific fire from the English guns ; victory was about to alight upon their standards. At this moment the right wing of the French army was broken by the weight of the Prussian troops, and the cavalry spreading over the field threw everything into confusion. The reserve of the English cavalry was now hurled against the French columns. Ney held the Guard steadily under the impetuous assault ; four horses were successively killed under him, but with his head bared, his sword broken, his uniform unbuttoned, one of his epaulets cut by a sabre, he mounted his fifth horse, soon after killed under him, dared and defied death. Never had he been so magnificent ; the Guard disdained to yield, but with thinned ranks and borne down by overwhelming numbers they fell back as darkness settled upon the field.

Victor Hugo says of this disastrous day :

"Was it possible for Napoleon to win the battle ? We answer in the negative. Why ? On account of Wellington, on account of Blucher ? No ! On account of GOD. Bonaparte victor at Waterloo did not harmonize with the law of the nineteenth century. Another series of events was preparing in which Napoleon had no longer a place ; the ill-will of events had been displayed long previously. It was time for this vast man to fall ; his excessive weight in human destiny disturbed the balance. . . . Napoleon had been denounced in infinitude and his fall was decided. Waterloo is not a battle, but a transformation of the universe."

I do not propose to controvert Victor Hugo's solution of Waterloo by an intervention of an overruling Providence, but I do say that the conquerors made a most ungenerous use of their triumph. After the overthrow of the only man who could fix a limit to the aggression of absolute rule, they proceeded to construct a new map for Europe. The Congress of Vienna, representing the great powers, divided the spoils of victory with an utter disregard of the interests, the wishes, or the sentiments of the people. That they might not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their possession they banished Napoleon from Europe, imprisoned him on a barren rock, in an unwholesome climate, south of the equator, where vessels from Europe only touched in passing, opposite the coast of Africa. If we concede their right to dethrone the Emperor, to strip him of his power, to disband his armies, and to place him upon his feet on the soil of France after restoring to the throne Louis XVIII., who dared not face the man of the people, I deny their right to proceed further. They transcended the traditions of civilized warfare, the laws of nations, and the eternal law of humanity in seizing the person of Napoleon and consigning him to life-long imprisonment. Yet the hand of destiny emblazoned his fame on the rock of St. Helena in sublime coloring. He was the modern Prometheus chained to a rock, while vultures fed on his heart, but all the coming centuries will know that despots, who feared to leave him at large, forged the chains that bound him. In vain did he appeal to England, as Themistocles to the most generous of his enemies. The prince who filled the place of a sovereign of that greatest of kingdoms, enervated, vain, incapable of sympathy with such grandeur, did not dare to raise his voice in his behalf.

We drove over the field, visiting the points of interest and recalling the most important movements of the conflict. The mound of the Belgic lion, two hundred feet

high, is a good station for surveying the field. We mounted to the top by a flight of steps and saw, spread out at our feet, the battle-ground, destined to vie in interest with Plataea, Chæronea, and Marathon.

We returned to Brussels, and as we entered the city the golden rays of the descending sun were touching the tops of the tall trees in the park.





CHAPTER VIII.

A Visit of the French Ambassador, Marquis de Rumigny—Sir Hamilton Seymour, English Minister—Visit to Paris—Louis Philippe—Mr. Ledyard, United States Chargé d'Affaires—Chamber of Deputies—M. Guizot—Reception by M. Guizot—Lord Cowley, English Ambassador—Dinner at the Palace—Baron Humboldt.

I WAS seated in my office engaged in reading, at an hour somewhat earlier than visitors make their calls, when I heard the bell at the front door ring, and a moment later, to my surprise, Antoine entered, ushering in the Marquis de Rumigny, Ambassador of France. I rose instantly to receive my distinguished visitor, and insisted that he should allow me to conduct him to my reception room on the floor above, it being the custom in Brussels to arrange the drawing-rooms on the second floor of the residence; but the Marquis took a seat and preferred to stay where he found me, as he had called to make an informal and friendly visit. He sat for some time conversing in the most agreeable way, and said that he had called to say that I must go out more frequently, that I must not indulge the habits of a student, but take part in the affairs of society. I replied that I had paid my official calls, and proposed to make other visits at an early day. "Ah," said the Marquis, "you must visit generally, my young friend; you may as well shut yourself up in a closet as to decline seeing people, and I wish to call with my carriage and take you with me to make calls, if you will allow me. I laughed at the earnestness of the

Ambassador in insisting upon this point, and thanked him for his friendly interest in me. He said some very pleasant things, and took leave. The Marquis was already a man of distinction at home, past the middle age of life, with a charming family, including daughters who appeared in society and were admired for their grace and elegance. Not long after this visit, the Marquis having given me notice of his purpose, called with his carriage, and we drove to many houses, where he uniformly sent in my card with his own. This was so marked a courtesy on the part of the French Ambassador that it touched me deeply. The rules which govern society in Brussels are well settled, and there is rarely an infringement of them by well-bred persons. It is the rule that a stranger taking up his abode in Brussels for any time longer or shorter, if he should wish to enter society, must make the first call; this is done by leaving a card at the house. Those who return the call regulate the degree of acquaintanceship by simply leaving a card, or a card with a corner turned down, or by asking to be admitted to the house. It will be understood that the French Ambassador leaving my card with his own gave me the *entrée* into the best society of Brussels—not limited to official circles. I was much amused at an incident that occurred in our drive. I had met the Duchess de Beaufort in society, and she had shown me very marked courtesy upon my presentation to her. I therefore suggested to the Marquis that we should leave a card for her. "What for?" said he; "she does not give dinners." I was much struck with the worldly wisdom of the Marquis, and the cards were not left at the door of the Duchess. I was receiving a lesson in my education as a diplomatist. I was invited soon after to dine with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the English Minister, and met a number of interesting people at his house. Lady Seymour was a most agreeable person—the finest style of an English woman. In person, manner, and culture she

would have graced any place. There was nothing of that reserve in her manner which chills the warmth of hospitality, but a natural and cordial kindness which shed a charm over the drawing-room, where she presided. Sir Hamilton became distinguished as a diplomatist, having been advanced to the post of Ambassador to Russia some years after I met him in Brussels. He was the representative of England at St. Petersburg to whom the Czar spoke with so much frankness in regard to the Sultan, describing him as "the sick man" of Europe, whose possessions might well be distributed among the great powers. Sir Hamilton communicated the conversation to his government, and a great sensation was created in political circles. The entertainments of Sir Hamilton and Lady Seymour were extremely elegant; no expense was spared in bringing delicacies for the table from distant points. I observed at the dinner, when I had the honor to be present, that among other rare things we had ptarmigans, shot on the mountains of Scotland. While residing in Brussels I received many attentions from Sir Hamilton Seymour, who seemed to regard me with sincere interest as the representative of a nation closely allied to England, and in sympathy with the spirit of free government which prevailed in both countries.

Some time later I made a brief visit to Paris and took apartments at Meurice's Hotel, opposite the Gardens of the Tuileries. I found it in every respect a satisfactory hotel, and I have made it a home repeatedly since that first visit; as I drive into its hospitable court I am at all times warmly welcomed. At the time of my first visit to Paris Louis Philippe was the reigning monarch, and Paris was bright and prosperous. The Palace of the Tuileries had been much improved by the King, whose taste guided in the remodelling of the buildings and in the yard front, which was very beautiful when I first saw it. The general effect of the Tuileries seemed to me exceedingly grand.

The Place du Carrousel, on the opposite side, interested me greatly; dating from the time of Louis XIV., it required the hand of Napoleon to perfect its construction. The Triumphal Arch, erected by the Emperor in 1806, is a splendid structure; it is a copy of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome, and consists of a central and two smaller lateral arches, each of which, unlike the original, is intersected by a transversal arch of equal height. Eight Corinthian columns of red Languedocian marble, with bases and capitals of bronze support the entablature. Upon this is a low attic, crowned with a triumphal car and four bronze horses, modelled by Bosio from the famous Corinthian horses which were brought from the Piazza of St. Mark, at Venice, but which were sent back by the allies assembled at Paris after the fall of Napoleon. Upon the evening of my arrival in Paris I walked through the Gardens of the Tuileries to the Place de la Concorde, one of the most interesting spots in Europe. The lights shone upon the objects which adorned the place from twenty handsome rostral columns bearing lamps and surmounted by globes, the allegorical figures representing the principal towns of France—Lille, Strasburg, Bordeaux, Nantes, Marseilles, Brest, Rouen, and Lyons; the flashing waters of the fountains; the obelisk of Luxor brought from Thebes, where it was erected 1550 years B.C., by Sesostris; and other works designed to illustrate the commerce, wealth, and power of the kingdom. Behind me was the Garden of the Tuileries, and looking through the Champs Élysées, I saw the extended lines of lamps on either side, meeting, as it seemed, at a distant point where the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile crowned the summit. The political associations connected with the spot crowded upon me.

The next day I called on Mr. Ledyard, Secretary of Legation, who in the absence of General Cass, the Minister, had charge of the Legation of the United States.

General Cass was absent on leave, and was visiting places of interest on the Mediterranean Sea, and was extending his travels so as to enable him to see the Holy Land. Mr. Ledyard was a son-in-law of General Cass, and I found him an accomplished gentleman, well fitted for the discharge of the duties of the important place which he filled. He received me very cordially and treated me with consideration. He invited me to accompany him to the palace on the evening of the King's reception, and presented me to his Majesty, Louis Philippe, as the Minister of the United States to Belgium. The King received me with so warm a welcome that I felt I owed the consideration shown me to the position I held at the court of King Leopold, his son-in-law. The personal appearance of Louis Philippe was prepossessing: he was in evening dress and without any decorations; he was six feet in height, well proportioned, and with a bearing so natural that he relieved a visitor from all sense of constraint. His portrait had made me familiar with his face, and I should have recognized him anywhere; his head was of that peculiar shape that made it easy to sketch in the illustrated papers of the day, where a pear, with the features of the King, was sometimes made to represent him; but the head was finely formed and the face beamed with intelligence. His Majesty excelled in conversation; he spoke of his travels in the United States, and showed an acquaintance with places that was remarkable. In reply to a question I informed him that I had grown up in South Carolina, he said that he had visited Charleston, and seemed to know the relation it bore to Columbia, my former home. The Queen and several ladies of the royal family were seated and engaged in some light embroidery, which imparted the charm of home life to a circle where I had supposed I should find much attention to form. In conversation with the King he spoke of the United States in terms of high appreciation, and I felt

sincere pleasure in being able to assure him of the friendly interest of our government in France, and of the gratification it afforded me to observe an increased prosperity of the country since his accession to the throne. It seemed to me that France had never, at any period of its history, been better governed than under his reign. Louis Philippe was eminently fitted for the administration of the government of France ; his high lineage did not dissociate him from the people. In his youth he had been educated in opinions of advanced liberalism. He was an exile from France for many years and travelled extensively, exhibiting everywhere fine traits of character. The vicissitudes to which he was subjected were borne with manliness and fitted him for the great part he was destined to play in the government of his country. Returning to France in 1814 he conducted himself so well that he gained the confidence of all classes and won the respect of Lafayette. Upon the fall of the elder Bourbon dynasty, in 1830, he was chosen to fill the throne, with the title of King of the French, a title full of significance ; it ignored the claim of a sovereign to rule by divine right, and declared that the people were the source of power. Many advocated the organization of a republican government ; but Lafayette settled the popular mind by declaring that the best form of government for France was a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. For several years Louis Philippe ruled France so wisely that it was supposed the foundation of the throne was too solid to be disturbed. Later the King attempted to restrain the people when they demanded a reform in the electoral system, and the revolution of 1848 drove him from the throne. He fled to England, where he died in exile some two years after. He owed his fall to the counsels of his Minister, Guizot, a man of ability, of integrity, of broad views, but cold and unsympathetic, a Protestant and a Puritan. Upon my visit to Paris Louis Philippe was firm in his seat ; the commer-

cial prosperity of France was great ; the kingdom enjoyed peaceful relations with the whole world, and all the sources of wealth in the nation were steadily improving. The dynasty of Louis Philippe had sustained a great shock in the sudden death of the heir to the throne, the Duke of Orleans, who had been killed by a fall from his carriage the previous summer. This splendid young Prince held a strong place in the hearts of the people of France. Driving out to review some of the troops near Paris on the road to Neuilly, a drum attached to the dashboard of the carriage broke from the fastenings and fell on the horses ; they ran, and the postilion being unable to hold them, the Duke rose to his feet and leaped out, falling with much violence on the roadside, and receiving injuries from which he died in the course of a few hours without recovering consciousness.

The ministry of the King was strong, and the administration was successful. At the head of the ministry was Guizot ; and Marshal Soult, reflecting the glories of the Empire, was Minister of War. I made a visit to the Chamber of Deputies, and heard a speech from Guizot. His appearance was striking, tall, slender, with a fine head, an intellectual face, dressed in a morning suit of black. He ascended the tribune and delivered a speech on a question that, at the time, was of momentous interest ; it was in support of a measure giving to the government the control of the education of the youth of France. The measure encountered the most determined opposition in the Chamber, and Guizot urged its adoption with great vehemence. An evening or two later I accompanied Mr. Ledyard to a reception given by Guizot at his residence. It was largely attended, and I was much interested in observing the manner of the great minister as he received his guests. When a deputy friendly to his measure was announced, Guizot advanced and received him with warmth ; but when an opponent entered, the minister's

welcome was frigid. Presently Lord Cowley, the English Ambassador, entered the room. Guizot advanced to meet him, took his hand in both of his own, and evinced so much *empressement* that Mr. Ledyard, turning to me, said : "Ah, there is a reception !" Lord Cowley, a brother of the Duke of Wellington, was a man of striking presence, a larger man than his illustrious brother, and thoroughly English in person and manner.

After passing some days in Paris I was about to return to Brussels, when, on the day fixed for my departure, I received an invitation to dine at the palace on some day of the ensuing week ; of course I decided to stay and be present on an occasion that promised to be so full of interest to me. I was much impressed with the honor of the invitation ; it took me wholly by surprise, and it was really an unusual mark of consideration for me—young, a visitor to Paris, and in no way connected with the court. Much as I felt honored by the invitation, I found my friend, Mr. Ledyard's appreciation of it even greater than my own ; he, too, had been invited, and Mrs. Ledyard was to accompany him. It really heightened the pleasure with which I regarded the compliment when I found Mr. Ledyard so much elated by this very marked courtesy. There was so much to see in Paris that the days added to my visit were employed in a way to enable me to accomplish far more than I could have done in the time which I had allowed myself to stay in a city so full of attractions.

On entering the reception room of the palace I found a number of distinguished guests of the King, whose official dinners were occasions of public interest. I was invited to take Mrs. Ledyard to the table, and informed where we were to be seated, this being a matter of importance at royal tables. I was assigned to the distinguished place by the side of the Duke de Montpensier, a son of the King, who, though just nineteen years of age, had won distinction in a late campaign in Algeria, where he received a

slight wound in battle. With Mrs. Ledyard on my arm, I was advancing to the seat assigned us, but the diffidence of my young countrywoman was so great that she hesitated and took a chair nearer the entrance, and of course I acquiesced in her selection. As we took our seats, a lady-of-honor opposite to us signified to Mrs. Ledyard that we were entitled to a higher place, but I said to my friend: "Never mind, we are assured that he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." It was soon apparent that I was right, for the guest immediately next to me was Baron von Humboldt, the eminent German scientist and traveller. I had met him a few weeks previously at Aix-la-Chapelle, and had been presented by him to the Queen of Prussia. I enjoyed a conversation with this eminent man at the table, and counted myself fortunate in losing the distinction of being seated by the side of the Duke de Montpensier. It is the custom at royal dinners to place seats for the king and queen at the centre of the table, on opposite sides, and to assign chairs to the guests on either side of them according to their respective rank. Where I was seated I had the advantage of seeing the Queen, and could observe the King throughout the dinner, who was of course an object of interest to me, as I desired to study his bearing as a sovereign.

I was much indebted to Mr. Ledyard for attentions during my first visit to Paris, and when I took leave of him I felt that I had made a friend whose fine qualities entitled him to consideration at home and abroad.





CHAPTER IX.

Return to Brussels—Leave of Absence to Visit the United States—Interview with the King—Leave for Home *via* England—Steamship *Columbia*—Arrival at Boston—Visit to Alabama—Montgomery—Return to Brussels from the United States—Reception—Visits.

SOME days after my return to Brussels my despatches from Washington arrived. I had asked leave of absence to visit the United States and accompany my family to Brussels, and my request had been granted. I made my arrangements to leave, and requested an audience with the King before setting out. An hour was appointed for my interview with his Majesty, and I drove to the palace, where I was received with every mark of consideration. At that time the ministers of the United States wore full court dress, similar to that in which the diplomatic representatives of England appeared in all interviews with a sovereign, except on some occasions, when they were invited to a social entertainment, and informed that this would not be expected. My interview being formal, I wore my full court dress, and I found King Leopold dressed in the uniform of a marshal, ready to receive me with distinction. The King conversed with me for some time, departing from the usual form of official speech, and expressed the warmest interest in the affairs of the United States. He said that it had been his good fortune to intervene between the United States and France, during the administration of General Jackson, when, some delay having occurred in the settlement of a claim due by the

latter government to the former, the President had in his message to Congress advised the adoption of very prompt action for its enforcement. He proceeded to say that the refusal of some of the States to provide for the payment of their bonds had been observed with regret by the friends of our country in Europe. I was much impressed with the remark he made :

“Your country, Mr. Hilliard, is too great to be affected by considerations that might weigh with some of the states of Europe, whose boundaries are carved out with the sword ; your resources are inexhaustible. And you will maintain your credit at any pecuniary cost rather than impair the influence which you exert upon other nations. You are yet a young nation, and your example is already exerting a powerful influence in the world.”

I thanked his Majesty for the interest he had expressed in the growth and influence of my country, explaining to him the structure of the government of the United States, which was such as to leave to the several States the control of their own financial affairs, and expressed the hope that the final result of the controversy, in regard to the obligations to meet their engagements, on the part of some of the States, would prove to be both honorable and satisfactory. In taking leave of the King, he was very cordial in expressing his wishes for a prosperous voyage and for my return to my residence in Brussels.

It is not easy at this day to describe the state of feeling in Europe in regard to the refusal of some of the States to meet the payments due on their bonds ; Sydney Smith was writing his letters, denouncing in scathing terms the repudiation of contracts by some of the States, declaring that he had lost all confidence in republican securities, and avowing his purpose to sell out his American bonds and invest in Turkish three-per-cents.

I travelled to London by way of Antwerp. I found upon my arrival that my time for making satisfactory arrangements for my passage, on board the steamship *Columbia*, which was about to sail for Boston, was so limited that I hastened to Liverpool. I barely succeeded in securing state-rooms on board the ship. Mr. Stanley accompanied me, and all the best places had been engaged by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was going out as Governor-General to Canada, for himself and suite. For the first twenty-four hours our situation was very uncomfortable, but when Sir Charles Metcalfe learned that I was on board, he courteously put two of the best rooms that he had secured at my disposal. The *Columbia* went to sea on the 4th of March, and we encountered, from the first, rough weather; in mid-ocean we had a gale that blew furiously for thirty-six hours, the sea breaking over the vessel so that it was impossible to go upon deck, and we were shut up in our cabin as completely as if we were making a submarine voyage. It was remarked, too, that, notwithstanding the violence of the gale, the sun was shining brightly. Upon approaching Halifax we were met by a snowstorm, and the sea was so rough that we found it difficult to effect a landing. I was interested in observing Halifax; the city is handsomely built, and the dockyard is very fine. Having touched there but a short time, we sailed for Boston, Sir Charles Metcalfe and his suite continuing their voyage to that port. Captain Judkins commanded the *Columbia*, and we all felt indebted to him for his fine seamanship and attentions to us throughout our stormy voyage. We had on board Russell, the famous vocalist, who sang for our entertainment in the midst of the rough sea, with great effect, his song, "The Ship on Fire." Upon our arrival at Boston, Sir Charles Metcalfe honored me with an invitation to dine with him at his hotel, but I declined to accept the courtesy, as I was impatient to reach my home in the

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South. There are occasions in life when one feels that he should say with adoring gratitude : " What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me ? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord." Such was my sense of divine goodness, when, upon my return, after an absence of some months from home, I found my family, kindred, and friends all well and bright and happy.

After a brief visit to Montgomery, that young, prosperous, and beautiful city, where the happiest years of my life had been passed, I returned to my post, accompanied by my family. On the 4th of May I sailed from New York in the *Stephen Whitney*, commanded by Captain Thompson, and after a delightful voyage arrived at Liverpool. We proceeded immediately to London, and made a brief stay there, enjoying sight-seeing. On Sunday we attended divine service at City Road Chapel, Mr. Wesley's church, and were awakened to enthusiasm by the finest congregational singing we had ever heard. There was no organ, but the vast congregation rose to their feet, and, led by a precentor, sang with a good spirit, and the volume of song swelled and rolled in harmony and power to the throne of God. We took passage on board the steamer for Antwerp, and found it thronged with tourists, setting out on their summer travel on the Continent. An incident occurred that was both annoying and amusing. I had engaged a state-room for my family ; but some hour or two before they were ready to occupy it, it was invaded by Lady Bloss, of Ireland, in spite of the remonstrances of the stewardess, who informed her that it had been set apart for the American Minister. Her ladyship was so bent upon holding possession that she seated herself on the floor and refused to yield. The captain of the steamer, upon being informed of the state of affairs, promptly put at my disposal his own elegant room on deck,

the most delightful place on the ship for passing a night at sea.

I observed the Prince of Leiningen, son of the Duchess of Kent, by her first husband, the hereditary Prince of Leiningen, on board ; he had his bed spread on deck, and passed the night in the open air.

We arrived in Antwerp in the morning, and as we approached the dock the captain of the steamer displayed flags in honor of my presence on board. An officer from the custom-house came on board and placed his mark on my trunks, which entitled them to delivery without inspection. After a short ramble through the fine old town, we took our departure for Brussels, and arrived at the depot, where we found Antoine awaiting us with our carriage. He was really happy to see me once more, and welcomed my family as warmly as if he had been brought up in our service in our own Southern home. In entering our residence we found everything in order, and enjoyed the pleasant surroundings. The brightness of a midsummer day gave a cheerful aspect to the city ; our walk in the park in the afternoon was through shaded avenues thronged with people, who made that fashionable promenade their daily resort for recreation.

The members of the Diplomatic Corps received us with gratifying marks of interest, and we soon felt at home in Brussels.

The reception of the King and the Queen at the palace was very pleasing to us, and throughout our stay in Brussels they honored us with attentions which evinced a friendly interest in us personally. The Queen was very attractive in person and manners, and her amiable and beautiful traits of character shone out in even formal court receptions. As we sometimes saw her with her two sons and her daughter Carlotta, she was the impersonation of the qualities which are so charming in a

woman who seems to forget her royal station and adorns the family circle over which she presides.

The King was a Protestant, and attended divine service conducted by an English clergyman, who was recognized as the King's chaplain. The Queen was accustomed to attend service at the Cathedral of St. Gudule, the finest church in Brussels. It is a beautiful Gothic structure, which was completed, except the towers, in 1273, the towers being finished in 1518. The beautiful stained-glass windows are the finest I saw in Europe. Statues of the twelve apostles are placed against the pillars in the nave of the church, and are very impressive. The music is splendid, and the service gorgeous. An officer, whose duty it is to preserve order, treads the aisles in rich uniform, bearing a halberd with a gleaming point, which he lowers as the mass reaches the climax and the host is elevated, kneeling, and saluting by touching the marble floor with the gleaming point of the spear. In this church I have been present when the Queen has attended divine service, not occupying the throne set apart for her, but seated on a chair in the midst of the people. I enjoyed the splendid ceremonial, and was much impressed. The rich vestments of the ministering priests, the burst of music from the choir in response to the ascription of prayers from the distant altar, the smoke of incense ascending to the vaulted roof, and the light streaming through the divinely painted windows,—all blended into rare harmony made a picture of wonderful coloring and beauty. The pulpit is of finely carved wood, and is an elaborate work of art, representing Adam and Eve driven out of paradise, surmounted by the Virgin Mother holding the infant Saviour, whom she is aiding to thrust a spear into the head of the serpent. Some of the monuments are magnificent, especially those erected to the Dukes of Brabant; and a striking one to Count de Morode, a hero of the Revolution of 1830, representing

him as he fell in battle, wearing a blouse and holding a pistol, is one of the finest pieces of art in Belgium, by the famous sculptor Giefs.

Visits in the city and excursions to the environs were much enjoyed by us; the summer was in its full splendor, and the places within reach were full of interest.





CHAPTER X.

Visit of the Queen of England and Prince Albert to Brussels—Popular Reception—Dinner at the Palace—Prince Albert—Lord Aberdeen—Lord Liverpool—Interview with Count de Brierly, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

AN event of great interest occurred: her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of England, with Prince Albert, attended by Lord Aberdeen, Lord Liverpool, and other distinguished persons made a visit to the King and Queen of the Belgians. Everything contributed to make the arrival of the royal party as pleasant as possible: the weather was perfect; Brussels received the visitors with a display of heartiness as sincere as it was magnificent; the streets leading to the palace were thronged with people eager to see her Majesty, and cheering with enthusiasm as the coach that bore her and Prince Albert advanced through the dense ranks, followed by carriages occupied by her suite, and others in the line of attendants filled by persons of the highest rank. It was a splendid picture; the imposing spectacle being heightened by the military escort, composed of the finest troops of the kingdom. The park was filled with thousands who enjoyed the advantage of seeing the royal party enter the grounds of the palace.

I had the honor of being present at a state dinner given to her Majesty and Prince Albert in the palace. Before the dinner was served the invited guests were presented to Queen Victoria, and the Diplomatic Corps enjoyed the privilege of preceding others in this august ceremony. Her Majesty received me with distinction as the rep-

representative of the United States. She was young, happy, and animated, and appeared to great advantage ; her person was slight, but graceful and rounded ; her features were pleasing, and she gave a gracious reception to those who were presented to her. Prince Albert was one of the finest-looking men I have ever met ; tall, well formed, with regular features, and an air of distinction, he would have been admired in any circle. He stopped for some time and conversed with M. Quetelet, Director of the Observatory, who stood by my side, he having been formerly a pupil of this eminent scholar ; the interview was cordial and interesting. I have ever since retained a vivid impression of Prince Albert, and have regarded him with sincere interest and admiration. As Prince Consort his position was a most trying one, and the way he bore himself throughout his life displayed qualities of a very high order. As a man his virtues were striking, and as a statesman his influence in public affairs in England was uniformly exerted in the advancement of the best interests of the people and of the throne. After my presentation I enjoyed an interesting conversation with Lord Liverpool, who with the Earl of Aberdeen accompanied the Queen on her visit to Brussels. Lord Liverpool expressed much interest in the affairs of the United States, and made himself agreeable personally. The dinner was served with great splendor ; I have never seen anything to surpass it in entertainments of that description. King Leopold attended Queen Victoria to the table, and the Marquis de Rumigny, the Ambassador of France, the Queen of the Belgians. It was understood that the entertainments of King Leopold surpassed in splendor those of any sovereign in Europe.

Many years have elapsed since I took part in that magnificent entertainment given in honor of the youthful Queen of England. The young Prince, who in his manly promise stood by her side ; the King and the Queen of the

Belgians who gave it, so happy and useful in their reign ; many of those fair women and honorable men who constituted that brilliant circle, have gone from the world, but I recall the occasion vividly. It is a picture hung in the chamber of my memory that still retains the freshness of its coloring. Victoria, whose long reign has contributed so much to the prosperity and the glory of her empire, still survives, and enjoys the loyal affection of her subjects and the respect of the whole world.

During the stay of the royal party Brussels was *en fête*, and that city, so full of historical interest, never witnessed a more magnificent display in the whole course of dramatic events that have thrown their coloring over the beautiful capital, than that which attended the visit of the Queen of England.

Count de Brierre was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium at that time. He was an accomplished statesman and comprehended European affairs. I received a note from him inviting me to call at the Department of Foreign Affairs, stating that he desired to confer with me upon a matter of importance. I waited on him the next day, and he opened a conversation in regard to Texas. That young republic was attracting the attention of the statesmen of Europe, and its independence had been recognized by France. Belgium had not yet taken that step, but was disposed to do so, and the commercial relations between the two countries were already important. Count de Brierre proceeded to say that the respect of his government for the United States was such that it would do nothing to affect the relations between Belgium and Texas which would not meet the approval of my country, and he wished to be informed as to the views of my government in regard to Texas. It was understood that the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States was under consideration in both countries, and it was important to be informed as to the policy of the government of

the United States touching this question. He wished me to give him my views as to the question, and stated that he had reason to believe Mexico was now ready to acknowledge the independence of Texas, provided that step would prevent the annexation of that republic to the United States. Would the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Texas with the solemn stipulation that Texas should not at any future time consent to become a State of the American Union prevent annexation? I replied to this direct question frankly; I said that in my judgment such an agreement entered into between the two republics would delay the annexation of Texas to the United States, but could not defeat it; that annexation was inevitable; that certain great interests drew the two countries toward each other; that Texas was already gravitating toward our country, and nothing could even delay its coming to us but some powerful considerations affecting the status of the young republic very deeply. I then said to the minister that I could not comprehend the policy of Mexico in withholding the recognition of Texas as an independent state when there could be no hope of re-conquest; it would be far wiser to acquire the good-will of the state, and secure a friendly neighbor. Count de Briey seemed to be impressed, and he said to me that he could explain the policy of Mexico. That republic had no hope of recovering the lost state, but is unalterably opposed to its annexation to the United States. "Mr. Hilliard, Mexico would recognize the independence of Texas to-morrow upon the condition of its continued existence as an independent republic; Mexico wishes to interpose an independent republic between herself and the United States. Mexico fears the growing power and aggressive policy of your great nation." This was a revelation. The minister went on to say that an eminent Mexican statesman was at that time in Brussels, and that he had stated the policy of his government with frankness.

The object of the interview with me was to obtain, if possible, an authentic statement of the policy of the United States in regard to Texas before the government of Belgium took any decided step in regard to the political status of that young republic. The result of the interview was that Belgium held the matter up for further consideration. Mr. Calhoun was at that time Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, and I promptly sent him a full despatch, giving him an account of my interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.





CHAPTER XI.

Excursion to the Rhine—Liege—Cologne—On the Rhine—Worms—Luther before the Great Diet—Luther's Elm—Heidelberg—The University—Return to Brussels.

THE season was beautiful, summer was in its full splendor, and tourists were making their way to the attractive resorts which drew visitors from all parts of the world. We decided to pass some weeks in the beautiful country bordering on the Rhine. Our journey took us through the country leading to Liege; it was one vast tract of delightful gardens, while streams and mills gave animation to the landscape.

Liege is said to derive its name from the fact of Julius Cæsar's legions having been defeated here by the inhabitants, then called the Ebur; and it has since been distinguished for its warlike character under the rule of its ambitious Episcopal princes, but it is now one of the finest and most prosperous towns in Europe. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Quentin Durward," has given new interest to its dramatic history.

Arriving at Cologne, the beauties of the Rhine opened to our view. We found the churches full of interest. In one of them is a painting of great interest; it is the famous picture representing the death of St. Peter. He is nailed to the cross with his head downward, at his own request; for he said it would be too great an honor to be crucified like his Saviour. There is great power in the picture. The unfinished cathedral is magnificent, and

when completed will be the finest triumph of such architecture in Europe. The day before our arrival the King of Prussia had laid the corner-stone of a new portal, and the building was decorated with banners; I saw a flag flying from an iron crane on one of the unfinished towers that is said to have been standing there for three hundred years; the structure was begun in 1258. That part of the building which is completed is very beautiful, and the decorations are rich; there is nothing of that display of cheap ornamentation often observed in ecclesiastical structures. The sacred relics shown to visitors are rare, and preserved with the greatest care. The skulls of the three Magi, who came from the East to worship the infant Saviour, are kept in a case of elaborate finish, ornamented with gems of priceless value. At that time no railways were constructed on the banks of the Rhine; we took passage in a steamboat fitted for the accommodation of tourists, and the beautiful scenery of the river was revealed to us as we ascended the stream. The boat touched at places of interest on the banks of the river, and stopped at night that nothing might be lost of the beautiful scenery. We passed the day on deck, and enjoyed under a bright sky the finest views of that river of matchless beauty. The fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, opposite Coblenz, was an object of great interest to me; it deserves the name "Honor's Broad Stone." The ladies of our party mounted donkeys to climb the height on which the fortress is situated, and the view repaid us for the fatigue of the ascent.

The historical interest of Worms attracted us, and we visited the place and drove through its environs. Here the great Diet was held, where Charles V. presided when Luther was summoned to appear before it. We recalled the heroic attitude of the great leader of the Reformation as he confronted the august council; and when called on to retract what he had written against the

authority of the Pope, he replied with unshaken intrepidity, addressing the Emperor: "Since your most serene Majesty, and your high Mightinesses require from me a clear, simple, and precise answer, I will give you one, and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope, or to the councils, because it is clear as the day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by the clearest reasoning, unless I am persuaded by means of the passages I have quoted, and unless they thus render my conscience bound by the Word of God, I cannot and I will not retract, for it is unsafe for a Christian to speak against his conscience. Here I stand, I can do no other; may God help me! Amen!" We drove a mile or two on the road which Luther had travelled to Worms, that we might see the spot where he stopped to rest before entering the city. An old elm-tree still stands to mark the place; it is very large and an object of veneration to the inhabitants. The tree is protected by a railing, and a placard forbids persons from trespassing on the spot; but I did not feel that it was a violation of the spirit of the injunction to cut a small limb as a remembrancer of the place. It was here that Luther was met by a friend, who entreated him not to enter the city, saying that he would be seized and put to death. Even Spalatin, his best friend, the Elector's confidant, sent a special courier to him with this message: "Do not enter Worms." Luther, undismayed, turned his eyes on the messenger, and replied: "Go and tell thy master that even should there be as many devils in Worms as tiles on the house-tops, still I would enter it." The peasant women observed our eagerness to cut a branch from the tree; with wonder they gathered about us, watching us, but said nothing, and we drove back to Worms, bearing our captured relics with us, not without some apprehension of being called to account for our trespass.

A place of great interest to us was Heidelberg. It lies on the left bank of the Neckar, where that river leaves the narrow valley formed by the mountains of the Odenwald, and after a course of some ten miles through a rich plain, flows into the Rhine. The scenery is picturesque and beautiful: on one side the Konigstuhl towers, and on the opposite side stands the beautiful Heilezenberg, the view from which extends to the Taunus, the Black Forest, and the Vosges, and which was a most important spot for the Romans, who erected on its summit a watch-tower, commanding the roads from Ladenburg (Lupodunium), and from Altripp (Alta-ripa). The hill-sides are crowned with vineyards, and the river is spanned by a bridge of curious construction. I saw the river and its scenery under circumstances which heightened the beauty of the landscape. A light shower was falling; the evening sun threw its soft splendor over the landscape, and a rainbow arching the stream gave an enchanting aspect to the view. I felt disposed for a walk, and ascended the Konigstuhl, climbing its difficult sides with labor. I was rewarded by seeing the moon rise over the valley stretched at my feet. When I returned to the hotel it was quite dark, and I was told that I had ascended the highest point in all that region.

The great university was in a most flourishing condition. There were several hundred students and more than a hundred professors. The library, besides its great number of printed books, was rich in MSS. It had been repeatedly plundered, some of its treasures having been taken to Rome; while Napoleon, in his early conquest, seeking to enrich Paris, which he proposed to make the capital of Europe, by collecting there the finest objects of art, and the most valuable books, sent from Heidelberg thirty-eight of the most choice MSS.; but all these spoils have been restored to the great library.

We visited the castle, ruined but still grand, and recalled its eventful history; it is still full of interest, and

a walk through the grounds brings back the past glories of the spot. Retracing our steps we once more sought the boat that brought us down the Rhine, which in "Childe Harold" is described by that brilliant, restless wanderer, whose genius heightened the attractions of every spot that he visited :

" But thou, exulting and abounding river !
Making thy waves a blessing as they flow
Through banks whose beauty would endure forever
Could man but leave thy bright creation so."





CHAPTER XII.

Change in the Belgian Ministry—General Goblet d'Alviella—Arrival of Mr. Dangerfield, Minister of the Republic of Texas—Excursion to Holland—Mr. William Norris, of Philadelphia—Honorable Christopher Hughes, of Maryland, Minister to Holland.

A CHANGE occurred in the Belgian ministry, brought about by some question of domestic policy. A constitutional government and a free press produce results which we witness in all countries where the people assert their rights and express their opinions. King Leopold was a statesman of thoroughly English ideas of government, and his administration was distinguished by wisdom and firmness, appealing to the people for the support of the throne, rather than to the prerogatives of the crown. A Protestant governing a Catholic nation, he maintained his own opinions, but recognized the right of the people to conduct their ministry and institutions in accordance with their traditional sentiments and religious views; so that earnest discussions, rising at times into great excitement, occasionally disturbed the tranquillity of the government. The Catholic clergy naturally sought to control the schools, and asserted their authority in all questions affecting the education of the people. But the fine sense and personal qualities of the King, unsurpassed by those of any monarch, guided these tumultuous contests to a pacific result. Upon the flaming up of the Revolution in France in 1848, which subverted the throne of Louis Philippe, the father-in-law of King Leo-

pold, the people of Belgium caught the spirit of revolt, and were in full sympathy with France. The people threatened to overthrow the government and expel royalty from the country. The King met the popular demonstration with the wisdom and courage which always distinguished him, and maintained his authority by the force of his character, without calling upon the army to uphold the throne. He authorized his ministry to say to the people that he had ascended the throne upon their invitation, in the hope of conducting the government in a way to advance their prosperity and happiness, and that he was ready to abdicate and return to the people of Belgium the trust confided to him, whenever they desired to resume the power conferred upon him. He mastered a revolutionary spirit; the representatives of the people expressed their unshaken confidence in the King, and pledged themselves to maintain the authority of the throne against domestic violence and foreign invasion. The triumph of the King was complete; he maintained his power as a sovereign, supported by a loyal and contented people, and afforded to Louis Philippe, in his exile from France, a retreat in his beautiful Claremont, which he still owned—the dearest spot to him in England.

Count de Briey gave up the portfolio of Foreign Affairs on account of some inharmonious feeling in the Cabinet, and it was confided to General Goblet d'Alviella.

A question of importance was submitted to the consideration of the new Cabinet: Mr. Dangerfield, the Minister of Texas, accredited to the French court, came to Brussels, and presented his credentials in the hope of obtaining recognition from the Belgian government. He presented himself to me, and appealed to me to co-operate with him in the accomplishment of his object. I received him with great cordiality, and was much pleased with him, but I did not commit myself to his plan, stating that the subject was one of high interest to my govern-

ment. Mr. Dangerfield was an accomplished gentleman, a native of Maryland, where he had been educated, and while yet young had decided to fix his residence in Texas, where he soon acquired distinction, and had been called into the diplomatic service of the republic. He had been warmly received at Paris, and had been instructed to visit Brussels, and obtain the recognition of the independence of Texas from the Belgian government. He was received with courtesy, but not officially, by General Goblet d'Alviella, who heard his appeal for recognition with respect, but stated to him frankly that it was important to consider the construction which Mexico would give to such an act on the part of Belgium, a friendly nation, and at the same time to ascertain the views of the government of the United States in regard to it, as it was understood that the annexation of Texas to that country was already under consideration.

Mr. Dangerfield very warmly urged me to relieve the Belgian government so far as the claims of the United States were involved, by disavowing any purpose of annexation on the part of my government. I did not feel that it was proper for me to do this, having no instructions in regard to the subject, and believing as I did that the annexation of Texas to the United States would be accomplished sooner or later, and in my judgment at an early day. Mr. Dangerfield was much disappointed, and insisted that the recognition of the independence of Texas, so far from hindering the plan of annexation, would really facilitate the great measure so earnestly desired by many of the leading statesmen of both countries. I declined to express my views to General Goblet d'Alviella, and he would not give any encouragement to Mr. Dangerfield until he received an assurance from me that it was not the purpose of the United States to acquire possession of the young republic. Mr. Dangerfield, after passing some weeks at Brussels, returned to Paris.

The Diplomatic Corps had observed his presence and had become acquainted with the object of his visit to Brussels, and were much interested in it, so that when Mr. Dangerfield disappeared I was held responsible for the result, and one of them remarked with some humor that, "No matter what might come about as to annexation, the American Minister had certainly devoured the representative of the young republic."

Early in the spring of the following year, Mr. William Norris, of Philadelphia, called on me. He had been engaged by the Austrian government to perform an important service in the railway system of that country, and visited Brussels with the view of observing the Belgian railway service, which had attained a success so remarkable that it attracted the attention and won the admiration of all who were interested in securing speed, safety, and comfort in travelling. Without any special knowledge of the subject, I became so interested in it that, when the time approached for taking leave of Belgium, I had obtained, from the proper department, an elaborate statement of the system, which I brought home with me, in the hope of improving our railway service. Mr. Norris proposed that I should accompany him on a tour through Holland, where he desired to observe some works recently constructed for engineering purposes, in connection with the protection of the country from the invasions of the sea, and the draining of some of the great lakes, and I accepted his invitation to travel through a country that I so much desired to see. I do not propose to give an extended account of my brief visit to a country so full of attractions, outside of the way of tourists rambling through Europe, but I must recall a sketch or two of some places and objects which deeply interested me.

Entering Holland by the way of Breda, I passed a night in that place so full of historical interest. Here, Charles II. in his exile from England found a safe refuge

from the storms that drove him from his country. It is strongly defended by works constructed by the ablest engineers of an early period as well as of later times. The old castle was built in 1350 by Count Henry of Nassau ; the modern chateau by William, afterwards the III. of England. I found a comfortable hotel of an ancient style, where I for the first time enjoyed the luxury of sleeping on a Dutch bed of feathers, covered by a bed of down.

Rotterdam interested me greatly. The canals are as numerous as the streets, and there is a picturesque combination of water, bridges, trees, and shipping in the heart of the city. I felt for the first time that I was in Holland. In walking through the city I was impressed by the quaint buildings with gables facing the street and overhanging the foundation ; the canals are traversed by innumerable drawbridges, opening and shutting to allow the passage of vessels ; the carts are put upon sledges with barrels of water placed in front, which is jerked out through small holes so as to sprinkle the pavements as the horse moves and diminish the friction. I observed with interest the peculiar shoes of the horses, the wooden *sabots* of the peasants, the brass milk-pails glistening like polished armor, the little mirrors fastened in front of every window. I found that Rotterdam still maintained its extensive and profitable commerce with India, where there are important Dutch colonies ; and some of the finest merchant ships in the world were drawn up by the sides of the great warehouses of the city. It amused me to see in front of the windows of my hotel the tall masts of a great ship, which was soon to sail for remote parts of the East.

The Hague, the capital of Holland, is interesting as the residence of a court, and has some beautiful streets, bordered with magnificent houses ; its trees are beautiful, and it has the appearance of a city built in

the heart of an extensive forest. The picture-gallery we found filled with the finest works of renowned artists. The collection is large, and of its school unrivalled. Paul Potter's Young Bull is justly celebrated; it is certainly a remarkable picture. The animal, large as life, seems to breathe, and the perspective is very fine; it is known that when carried by the French to Paris, and placed in the Louvre, it ranked fourth in value in that splendid collection. It is said that the Dutch government offered Napoleon twenty thousand pounds sterling to leave the picture at The Hague.

I dined with the Honorable Christopher Hughes, American Minister to Holland, and was much pleased with him; he had written me before I left Brussels, insisting that I should pay him a visit, and he welcomed me with a warmth that gratified me. Mr. Hughes had been in the diplomatic service for many years, surviving several administrations, giving satisfaction at every post that he filled. He was charming in conversation, and I was glad to meet him afterwards when he came to Washington on a visit, during my service in Congress.

I found Scheveningen, a fishing village on the sea-shore, distant some three miles from The Hague, an interesting place. The fishermen drive an active trade, and I saw for the first time dogs harnessed, and drawing carts filled with fish to the city. It was from this place that Charles II. embarked for England previous to his restoration. I looked out upon the North Sea, which seemed to stretch illimitably before me, as its wild billows dashed at my feet.

I was much interested in a fair held at The Hague during my visit, which attracted the people from all parts of Holland. And those who came from Friesland, offering their wares for sale, were original in their manners and costumes. The head-dress of the women, the gold hoops and pendants, and the beautiful lace caps were objects of

interest, presenting the ancient style of the country, and affording a striking contrast to anything seen in our times; such head-dresses as the women wore are sometimes valued at several hundred dollars. At one stand waffles, sprinkled with powdered white sugar, were served. There were great book sales; some of the books were rare and costly. I bought several volumes, among them a large edition of Grotius "On the Law of Nations," in two volumes, bound in parchment, and several classical books.

I could not pass Leyden without bestowing a few hours upon it. Its historical interest is wonderful; its resistance to the siege by the Spaniards is unsurpassed for heroism in the annals of the world. The Prince of Orange was so deeply impressed by the courage and endurance of the citizens that he gave them the choice, as a reward for their patriotism, of two privileges: either an exemption from certain taxes, or a university, and they chose the latter. The university attained the highest degree of prosperity and renown, numbering in the list of distinguished professors and scholars Grotius, Descartes, Salmarius, and Boerhave. I saw on the walls a fine portrait of Arminius, at one time a professor in the university.

Haarlem with its surroundings I found to be a most interesting place; it is associated with music and flowers, and the fine country-seats which adorn its suburbs, and the great lake near it, are all objects of attraction. We decided to pass Sunday in the old place, and were richly rewarded for staying over. The inn was very good, and they served us with plovers' eggs for breakfast—a rare luxury. We attended divine service in the great church of St. Bavon, where we heard the famous organ with nearly five thousand pipes, and enjoyed its immense powers. It is a stupendous pile of musical architecture, filling the end of the church, reaching to the roof, and supported by porphyry pillars. The organ blends sweetness with

power; at times when the instrument, representing the storm, poured out its majestic tones, the building seemed to tremble. The service was impressive, and when the whole congregation stood up to sing, the song heightened into sublimity. I observed that Mr. Norris, as well as myself, was deeply moved by the anthem that rose and swelled through the vast building like the music of the sea. I have since heard criticisms of instrumental music in churches, but when I recall that service in the great church of Bavon in Haarlem, much as I enjoy congregational singing, I would wish to have a great organ to guide and sustain it. The flowers of Haarlem pleased me by their beauty, fragrance, and profusion; I saw acres covered with them, some rare, and the tulips and hyacinths were the finest I ever saw. I bought some of them and threw them into my trunk to show them at home, not preserving them in any special way, and I found when I reached Brussels, some ten days later, that they were still fresh, fragrant, and beautiful. The soil and mode of culture in some way produce the finest flowers in the world, and the gardens of a great part of Europe are supplied from Haarlem. We observed the lake with interest, Mr. Norris inspecting the plan for pumping out the water, which seemed to be done by an immense screw with plates on the sides of an inclined plane placed at a proper angle. I did not comprehend how a contrivance apparently so simple could discharge from an immense lake such volumes of water. The great bed of the lake has been converted into arable and pasture land.

Amsterdam, though it has lost much of the vast commerce that it one time commanded, is yet a great and prosperous city, one of the most important in Europe. It possesses wonderful interests; its history, its wealth, and its enterprise all distinguish it, and it must continue to be one of the great commercial marts of the world. The city is built in the form of a crescent, and is divided into two

parts by the Amstel, intersected, like Venice, by numerous canals, which form ninety-five islands, connecting the several parts by two hundred and ninety bridges. It has numerous and immense warehouses filled with the products of all countries of the globe. Its dykes, constructed with great skill and maintained at immense cost, keep out the ocean that threatens to submerge the city. Its public buildings are immense and imposing, some of them rising into splendor. I was amused to see hackney-coaches without wheels, mounted on a sledge and drawn by one horse; the driver walking by his side, holds in one hand a small staff to which is tied a cloth dipped in oil, which he drops at intervals under the runners of the sledge to diminish friction. The Great Bank of Amsterdam, which formerly controlled the exchanges of the commercial world, no longer exists; ships bearing the rich products of the East and the West, which still throng the wide entrance of the city, are not so numerous as in the days of its highest prosperity, but it is still a wonderful place; its great bankers hold an honorable place in the circle of the world's capitalists, and are as distinguished for their integrity as in the times when states, kings, and princes were glad to accept loans from them. The Grand ship canal, extending to the distance of fifty miles, is a magnificent illustration of the genius, wealth, and enterprise of Holland. Indeed everything that I saw in Amsterdam heightened my respect for this wonderful people. They defy the invasion of the ocean, they draw water from great lakes, and they attract the commerce of the world.

Broek, near Amsterdam, is unlike any other place in the world. It is the residence of retired merchants and men of business who have amassed fortunes. It is an ideal residence, the cleanest village in the world; there is neither horse nor cart road through the place; its narrow passages are like tiled corridors set with ornamental bricks;

the houses, constructed of wood, are kept freshy painted, and their roofs of polished tiles of various colors glisten in the sun. The front door and windows of the houses are closed except on two occasions: to admit the guests at a wedding, and to allow the taking out of a corpse for interment. Rooms for the cows are provided near the apartments for the family, and the cleanliness in the one is as perfect as in the other; the tails of the cattle are tied to hooks in the ceiling, to prevent them from becoming soiled and disfiguring their bodies and the clean smooth boards of their stalls.

We returned to Belgium by the way of Utrecht, the *Trajectum ad Rhenum* of the Romans. A delightful way of travelling between Amsterdam and Utrecht is to take passage in a *treckschuit*, a commodious barge, which gives a fine view of the country, the banks of the canals being lined all the way with country-houses and gardens. We ascended the tower of the cathedral, three hundred and eighty feet high; it stands out from the main building, and from its summit an extensive and interesting view spreads out over almost all Holland and part of Brabant, comprehending twenty large towns, among them, Bois le Duc, Hertogensbosch, Rotterdam, Oude-water, Montford, Rheenen, and others. The sexton makes his home in the steeple with his family. The university is an ancient establishment, and the mint of Holland is here.

In leaving Holland I felt grateful to Mr. Norris, who had induced me to accompany him through a country so full of interest, and so unlike the parts of Europe more generally visited. I should advise those who go abroad for recreation and instruction, to turn away from the usual lines of travel, and pass a few days in Holland. I recall my visit with intense pleasure.



CHAPTER XIII.

Brussels—Mr. Norris—Military Display—Relations of Belgium to the Great Powers of Europe—Visit to Paris—The Tuileries—The King's Fête Day—Splendid Reception—Royal Family—Cabinet Ministers—Guizot—Marshal Soult—Diplomatic Corps—Hôtel des Invalides—Notre Dame—Versailles.

BRUSSELS was in full beauty; the parks and boulevards attracted visitors in unusual numbers, and the suburbs were never more charming. We enjoyed our drives greatly; and the ladies of my family in our open carriage visited places of interest in the neighborhood. As a residence Brussels was more agreeable than Paris, with which city it has often been compared.

Mr. Norris passed some days with us before his departure for Vienna, and we were unwilling to give him up. Among the numbers of our countrymen who came to visit Brussels, we met no one who was more agreeable to us than this friend from Philadelphia.

I was much pleased to have a visit from Mr. Thurlow Weed, who with a party of friends passed a few days in Brussels. I found Mr. Weed a most interesting man, and he showed his appreciation of my attentions by a generous tribute to me in his paper, published in Albany, upon my entering Congress a year or two later.

A splendid military review took place in Brussels, in which the troops, consisting of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, displayed great skill in training. In no country in the world can so large a body of troops be seen equal

to those of the Belgian army. Belgium, it is well known, is the battle-field of Europe, and her soldiers seem to possess the qualities that would make them equal in modern warfare to those composing the armies of any of the great powers. The army of Belgium is, in proportion to the actual population of the country, the largest in the world; in clothing and appointments the troops are superior to any on the continent. Yet Belgium is recognized by the great powers of Europe as a neutral state, its independence guaranteed and its soil respected, so that not even an army of any other kingdom can pass over it to reach another point. But the people, as warlike as the inhabitants were in the times of Cæsar, disdain to acknowledge that they owe their immunity from invasion to any foreign power, trusting to their own valor and strength, and acting upon the counsel of Cromwell to the army which he had trained to be invincible: "Put your trust in God, but keep your powder dry."

The season was beautiful, and we decided to visit Paris and pass a short time there, embracing the first of May, the King's fête day. We enjoyed the journey through Belgium and France, travelling in railway cars to the boundary between the two countries, where the road terminated, and then in the diligence to Paris. The huge coach was divided into three compartments—the *coupé*, the *intérieur*, and the *rotonde*,—drawn by five powerful horses of the Flanders breed. The turnpike roads were in fine order, and the heavy coaches, filled with passengers and loaded with mail-bags and boxes of fine merchandise, were rolled on their way smoothly, stopping at certain stations to be weighed. We found this mode of travelling very pleasing to us, giving us a view of the country, through which we caught sight of country-seats, increasing in number and exhibiting greater elegance as we approached Paris. I engaged handsome apartments for my party in a pleasant quarter of the city, and we found

our surroundings satisfactory throughout our visit. We took with us from Brussels one of our servants, a German girl of excellent qualities, and even accomplishments, and thus contributed greatly to our comfort in making our excursions through the city and its environs. Mrs. Hilliard and the other ladies of our party enjoyed visits to many places of public interest, and found in the picture-galleries a source of inexhaustible pleasure. The city was thronged with visitors, many persons of distinction being present to witness the display on the first of May, the fête day of Louis Philippe.

I enjoyed the honor, as a member of the Diplomatic Corps, of being present at the morning reception at the palace, and with my friend and colleague, Mr. Ledyard, witnessed the brilliant scene. It surpassed any similar display at which I had been present. The King, his sons, members of the Cabinet, the diplomatic representatives of the nations of the world, the eminent statesmen, soldiers, and scholars of France, men of rank from every country, assembled in the vast saloon called *Salle des Maréchaux*. Its lofty walls hung with portraits of the living marshals of France, Soult, Moncey, Malitor, Grouchy, Gérard, Valée, and others, with busts of distinguished generals placed around the room, presented a picture far more magnificent than could have been seen in any other capital in the world. His Majesty received us in our turn graciously, inquiring of me in terms of interest of affairs in the United States, and recalling my visit to him on a former occasion. I observed standing near his Majesty his sons—the Duc de Nemours, the Duc d'Aumale, the Duc de Montpensier,—the members of his cabinet—Guizot, the Premier; Marshal Soult, Minister of War, and others.

In the line of the Diplomatic Corps I observed that the Minister of Greece, who stood by my side, wore a court dress so remarkable that it attracted the attention

of the Duc de Nemours. The costume was of Oriental style, the long skirts richly embroidered, the loose white trousers hanging over his shoes, and the Turkish cimeter suspended from his waist. The dress of the Austrian Minister was splendid, richly embroidered with gold, and a loose hussar jacket hanging from his shoulders. At that time American ministers wore a court dress similar to that of the English envoys, the coat with the oak leaf embroidered in gold on the collar, cuffs, breast, and skirts, a small sword by the side.

Never at any period of her history had France enjoyed higher prosperity than under the reign of Louis Philippe, and never had a sovereign surrounded himself with abler ministers. Guizot would have illustrated any administration, and have adorned any reign; he was a thorough scholar and a trained statesman. Such were his abilities that while a Protestant of rigid views he was called into the service of a Catholic prince, and in a country where the Church was jealous of any invasion of its rights, he succeeded in controlling the national system of education. As a political writer he was the most powerful man in France, and controlled the nation by his opinions when not in the service of the government. When he appeared in England as the Ambassador of France, in 1840, he attracted great attention, being the first Protestant envoy since the time of Sully. When I saw him at the reception, in May, 1844, he was in his prime, and displayed immense vigor; tall, slender, erect, his fine head set well on his broad shoulders, his features classical, his gray eyes expressive of intellectual force, and his manner grave. When not in full dress as a minister of the crown, he wore black, his long frock-coat cut in the style of a Prince Albert of our time; and he was always impressive. Unfortunately for the success of his administration he was too conservative, and influenced Louis Philippe, already too much inclined to yield the rank of France among the

great powers to considerations for the promotion of the commercial prosperity of the country, to the adoption of measures that touched the pride of the nation.

There, too, stood Soult, the greatest of Napoleon's marshals, in rich uniform, with his grave, severe look, the dark eyes still flaming with fire, his face bronzed with many campaigns; over the middle height and strongly built. As yet time had not bowed his frame; he stood erect, but limped slightly when he walked, from a wound received in the last desperate charge of Massena, leading the troops in an assault on Monte Cremo. Wounded and a prisoner, he lay and heard the storm of battle on the field of Marengo until, at the close of the day, his ear caught the announcement of victory for Napoleon. He was made a Marshal of France by the Emperor, and won his confidence so fully that he committed to him the most important and difficult enterprises. He commanded the right wing of the army at Austerlitz, confronting the two armies of Austria and Russia under the personal command of their Emperors; the French army was under the eye of Napoleon himself. In that splendid battle of the three Emperors at one time, Napoleon sent an order to Soult to break the Russian lines, but the Marshal held his command; not long after the Emperor sent a courier to Soult with the peremptory order to charge; still the Marshal held his men, and just as Napoleon's third courier rode up, Soult led his eager troops to the charge, and breaking the centre of the enemy's line carried everything before him. Later, the Emperor, surrounded by his staff, rode up to Soult, and learning that the Marshal saw from his position that the Russian army was making a false move, weakening its centre, when he received his order to advance, he lifted his cap, and said to the Marshal: "I pronounce you the ablest tactician in the army." All the splendid career of Soult rose before me as I looked upon him that fair May morning in the Hall of the

Marshals in the palace of the Tuileries. I had seen Wellington a few months previously, and as I stood in the presence of the great Marshal of France, I recalled the long and desperate struggle between the two commanders in Portugal and in Spain. They were pitted against each other for years, and both displayed the highest qualities, leading the disciplined troops of England and France with alternate victories and defeats. They met again at Waterloo, where Napoleon's genius even, of whom Wellington said his presence was equivalent to forty thousand men, could not save the empire from the combined forces opposed to him. All this had gone by, and now the Marshal of France, standing in the peaceful reign of Louis Philippe, had his brow illumined by the light of past triumphs and imperishable historical glory.

Her Majesty, the Queen, received in the evening, surrounded by the beautiful women, who at that time gave an indescribable charm to the court of France. No city in the world could have shown so much splendor as we saw that May day in Paris, and when evening came on, the illuminated houses and the pyrotechnics in the public parks and gardens gave to everything a radiance and threw an enchantment over the whole scene.

We visited from day to day places of interest in Paris and the environs, and read the history of France in its public buildings, monuments, and picture-galleries.

The Hôtel des Invalides is a magnificent structure. Its architecture, its historical associations, its monuments and tombs, its magnificent provision for soldiers who have served France well, under every dynasty, constitute it an object of universal attraction; from the time of Louis XIV. to the close of the imperial reign of Napoleon, it has been enriched with trophies and adorned by art, until it now surpasses any structure that Rome with its conquering legions ever saw. The remains of Napoleon

brought from St. Helena in 1840, were deposited here with the pomp worthy of the man who ruled France with unrivalled majesty, and who bore his victorious standards all over Europe. His tomb was not constructed at the time of my visit, but has since been completed; apart from its associations it is the noblest sarcophagus in the world, being an immense monolith of porphyry resting on two plinths which stand on a block of green granite from the Vosges. The pavement of the crypt is decorated with a crown of marble, in mosaic, within which in a black circle are inscribed the names of his most brilliant victories: Rivoli, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Wagram, and Moskowa. As I walked out of the stately structure into the esplanade, with its trees, and looked up at the gilded dome, surmounted by a cross three hundred and twenty-three feet in height, I felt that the building rose into sublimity.

The cathedral church of Notre-Dame is a splendid edifice, and its historic interest rivals the magnificence of its architecture, recalling the temple built on the spot by the Romans; rich with the traditions of early Christian times, and to-day exhibiting its Gothic beauties, consecrated as its altar is to the Lord Jesus Christ. The interior of the church interested us, but its splendor does not equal the exterior. We were shown the coronation robes of Napoleon, and recalled the scene when, in the midst of the immense throng, and in the very presence of the Pope, the Emperor placed the crown on his own brow, and then laid the diadem on the head of Josephine, who knelt on the steps of the stage. I have seen many churches, but Notre-Dame filled my imagination when I first saw it, and I have seen nothing to rival it since.

Versailles with its palaces, its works of art, its gardens and its parks with their fountains, basins, and lakes, surpasses in magnificence anything which royal taste and unlimited expenditure of money could construct in an-

cient or modern times ; its historic interest is great, and it contains objects associated with the glory of France, which illustrate its annals from the splendid reign of Louis XIV. to that of Louis Philippe, who had exhibited the utmost regard for the preservation of its splendor, enriching its galleries of art by a generous expenditure of money and by his fine taste. I will not dwell upon details where objects of interest are so numerous, but I cannot omit some notice of those that attracted me most. Very many of the paintings illustrated the reign of Louis XIV., but I was much more interested in those of a later period. In the Grande Salle des Gardes there is David's great picture of the Coronation of Napoleon ; it is splendid. The attitude of the Emperor and the posture of Josephine, the classical treatment of the scene, and the indescribable splendor of the accessories are very impressive. We did not see the Grandes Eaux playing—a very fine sight, usually exhibited on Sunday, and which costs an outlay of some two thousand dollars on every occasion. Of all the buildings, I admired most Le Grand Trianon, a royal mansion at the extreme end of the park of Versailles, built by Louis XIV. for Madame de Maintenon. It was the favorite residence of Napoleon. The building consists of one story and two wings united by a long gallery and fronted with magnificent coupled Ionic columns and pilasters in Languedoc marble ; it is in the Italian style. We were shown through the apartments, which contain some beautiful objects of art.

In one of the rooms the usher pointed out a richly furnished bed, saying : "It is the King's." I asked : "Where's the Queen's ?" "The same," he replied. The Grande Galerie is a fine room, one hundred and sixty feet long, full of paintings of great merit, and some rare and precious vases. In one of the apartments I observed two splendid candelabra, a circular table of green malachite and *ormolu*, presented to Napoleon by the Emperor

Alexander on the occasion of the treaty of Tilsit. We left Versailles with an impression of its magnificence which no royal residence seen by us had made. We found attractions every day during our stay in Paris, and could have lingered for weeks if my official duties had not recalled me to Brussels. Looking back through the vista of years I see Paris in all its brightness; I recall a visit when surrounded by the members of my family we enjoyed the scene outspread before us without a single cloud to darken it, and it will always be remembered as one of the happiest in my life. Time with its effacing fingers can never destroy the lines of a picture hung in the chambers of memory, where the forms of those so dear to me appear in a setting so beautiful.





CHAPTER XIV.

Brussels—Official Duties—Announcement from Washington of the Appointment of Mr. Calhoun as Secretary of State—Dinner at the Palace of Laeken—Dinner at Mr. Waller's, English Secretary of Legation—Evening Reception at the Palace—Letters from Home—Resignation—Departure from Brussels.

BRUSSELS has often been compared with Paris, and some really prefer it as a residence. It is not so brilliant, but it possesses advantages which make it a home of unsurpassed attractions; the climate is delightful, the society charming, and the environs are attractive. We found our residence in perfect order upon our return from Paris, and the faithful Antoine stood ready to welcome us.

My official duties interested me, and a correspondence took place with the Minister of Foreign Affairs in regard to the construction of the new Belgian tariff, involving the liability of tobacco already stored in the entrepôts of the kingdom to the increased rates laid upon incoming shipments. By a provision of existing laws the importer might store the tobacco in an entrepot without the payment of duties in case of re-shipment, but if taken out for sale in the country it became subject to the payment of the taxes. A large quantity of American tobacco was stored chiefly in Antwerp, and when some of it was put on the market the authorities decided that it must pay the increased rates fixed by the new tariff. In behalf of the American shippers I claimed that the tobacco having been shipped to Belgium, under the previous law, had acquired

the right of sale in that country, under its provisions ; to this it was replied that the tobacco stored might be removed and exported without the payment of any duty. But I insisted that one of the inducements to ship our tobacco to Belgium was the liberal provision of the law in regard to storage, and the privilege of putting it upon the market at any time, paying the rate laid upon the article at the time of entering the port. The government yielded the point, and I had the satisfaction of receiving from the administration at Washington a decided expression of its appreciation of my treatment of the question.

Mr. Webster decided to leave the Cabinet of Mr. Tyler. Upon the inauguration of General Harrison the Cabinet had been formed, consisting of some of the ablest members of the Whig party, and Mr. Webster had accepted the place of Secretary of State. The others were: Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, Postmaster-General; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. General Harrison lived but a month after his inauguration, but before his death he had issued a proclamation convoking the Congress in extraordinary session, for the 31st day of May ensuing. The session proved to be an eventful one; the bill providing for the establishment of a national bank was passed, under the lead of Mr. Clay, and met the disapproval of the President; Mr. Clay was indignant, and there was a general feeling of dissatisfaction in the ranks of Whig Senators and Representatives at the President's course. Another measure similar, if not identical, with the first, was adopted, but it failed to meet the President's approval. The members of Mr. Tyler's Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, who was prevailed on to remain, two days after the second veto message, on the 11th day of September, sent in their resignations. Mr. Webster published in the *National Intelligencer* his reasons

for not joining in that step with his colleagues; it was his wish to organize an institution under the authority of Congress to aid revenue and financial operations, and to give the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges; he looked to the union of the Whig party, the whole party, the Whig President, the Whig Congress, and Whig people for the realization of that object; and, he added, "if I had seen reasons to resign my office, I should not have done so without giving the President reasonable notice, and affording him time to select the hands to which he should confide the delicate and important affairs now pending in this department."

Lord Ashburton had recently arrived, empowered to negotiate for the settlement of certain important questions affecting the relations between the United States and England. It was fortunate for the country that Mr. Webster retained his seat in the Cabinet; in the negotiations which were conducted with Lord Ashburton he rendered the most important services to the nation, and won new lustre for his own great fame. Feeling, at length, that he might retire from the Cabinet, he did so, and Mr. Upshur, of Virginia, was appointed his successor, who, after a brief term of service, was killed, with several other distinguished men, by the explosion of a gun on board the steamer man-of-war *Princeton*. Mr. Calhoun was prevailed on to give his great abilities to the support of Mr. Tyler's administration, and accepted the post of Secretary of State. I had enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Webster, and my relations with Mr. Calhoun were in every respect satisfactory. It was my privilege to co-operate with him in giving success to measures for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

At the palace at Laeken a splendid dinner was given in honor of the Duke de Saxe and Princess Clementine, the daughter of Louis Philippe, who had just been married in Paris and were making a brief visit to the King

and Queen of Belgium. The guests seated at the table were persons of high rank, including several members of the Diplomatic Corps. Baron James Rothschild, the eminent banker of Paris, was also present. The occasion was one of unusual interest ; the Duke and Princess were both young, about the same age, and were on their wedding tour. Years afterwards I met one of their sons in Rio de Janeiro ; he had married a daughter of the Emperor of Brazil.

The season at Brussels was bright, and the hospitality was profuse and elegant. We had received, from the time of our taking up our residence in Brussels, marked attentions from Sir Hamilton and Lady Seymour, of the English Embassy, and many of the English residents who seemed to regard us kindly, not only from personal considerations, but on account of our American relationship to their own people.

Mr. Waller the English Secretary of Legation, was an interesting man, and lived with elegance ; we had accepted an invitation to dine at his house, but on the morning of the appointed day Mrs. Hilliard was somewhat indisposed ; still hoping that she would be well enough by evening to go out, we had not sent a note to excuse ourselves. It so happened that Mrs. Hilliard was suffering too much to go with me, and I entered the drawing-room of Mr. Waller alone ; he received me very cordially, but was distressed at the absence of Mrs. Hilliard. I explained that her indisposition had been so slight in the morning that we had not excused ourselves, but that it had increased in the evening, and that I was compelled to come alone. Mr. Waller was really unhappy, and asked if I objected to sitting at a table with thirteen persons, alluding to the superstitious feeling so strongly entertained by so many people. I replied pleasantly that fortunately nothing of that kind troubled me, but I regretted to occasion a *contre-temps*. The dinner

proved to be most agreeable, and I heard nothing of any disaster following.

An evening reception was given by the King and Queen at the city palace, and I was present, accompanied by Mrs. Hilliard. The scene was brilliant, as the entertainments at the royal palace were at all times, and the supper was a feast of splendor. In the course of the evening we enjoyed a conversation with the Queen, who was surrounded by the ladies of the court, and had her children, the Duc de Brabant, Comte de Flandres, and Carlotta, the young and beautiful child, destined to be the wife of Maximilian, and Empress of Mexico. Her Majesty kindly inquired about our own children, three, and of corresponding ages with her own.

We drove from the palace at a late hour, and upon reaching home I found a heavy mail awaiting me. One of my letters conveyed to me the sad intelligence of the death of my brother-in-law, Dr. William W. Waddel, who had married my only sister; he was a son of that eminent man, the Rev. Moses Waddel, D.D., of South Carolina, whose first wife was a sister of Honorable John C. Calhoun, and who had trained that great statesman, with other young men who afterwards rose to distinction. His son, Dr. W. W. Waddel, was a young man, but he had attained eminence as a physician; his accomplishments were such that he took high rank in social life, and in the Presbyterian Church he was a beloved and leading member. I was greatly distressed at his death; the intelligence threw a shadow over the brightness of my official life, and after a few days of reflection I decided to return home. It had been my purpose to visit Italy in the ensuing winter, but in view of my obligations to those who had such claims on me at home, I made up my mind to relinquish my official position, and return to the United States in the course of a few months. I wrote to Mr. Calhoun, informing him of my purpose, and stating that

I should tender my resignation early in the fall. At the time I felt the strong attraction of home, and made my arrangements to return to my own country with the greatest satisfaction. As the time approached for my departure from Brussels, I made a formal request of my government to leave my post at an early day. Some time elapsed before I received a reply from Washington, but at length Mr. Calhoun sent me a despatch, stating that upon my repeated requests to resign my official position, the President had instructed him to yield to my wishes, at the same time expressing entire approval of my course during my service at Brussels. Mr. Calhoun informed me that Mr. Clemson, who had married his only daughter, had been selected to succeed me, and requested me to continue at my post until his arrival in Brussels. I had taken a house and furnished it to suit our tastes, and I decided to send my furniture home to fit up my residence with it at Montgomery.

I was reluctant to leave Brussels before the arrival of my successor, but as Mr. Clemson delayed his coming, I proceeded to conclude my arrangements for leave-taking. I did so with a feeling of sincere regret; I had found friends in the members of the Diplomatic Corps, our families had formed relations of more than formal civility, and the King and Queen had shown such regard for us as to make leave-taking something more than a mere stately ceremony.

Leaving Brussels we reached England, and passed some days in London. We found much to interest us in a previous visit to the great metropolis, and we enjoyed sight-seeing with renewed pleasure, but we left London without reluctance, and after a short run by railway to Portsmouth, we went on board the splendid ship *Victoria*, and sailed for New York. After a delightful voyage we entered the bay of New York, under a brilliant October sun, and soon trod once more the soil of our native land.



CHAPTER XV.

Arrival at Washington City—Interview with the President—State of the Country—Canvass for the Presidency—Mr. Clay—Mr. Polk—Arrival at Montgomery—Mass-Meeting of the Whigs—Honorable Alexander H. Stephens—Honorable Arthur F. Hopkins—Defeat of Mr. Clay—Nomination for a Seat in Congress—Canvass—Election.

AFTER a brief stay in New York I left for Washington. Upon my arrival in that city I sought an early interview with the President, and was received by him with the greatest cordiality; he was my personal and political friend. Mr. Tyler was looking well; the cares of office had touched him lightly; having no longer aspirations for a re-election to the presidency, and looking forward to the return to his Virginia home, he was in high spirits; his intellectual face shone with animation, and his splendid conversational powers never appeared to greater advantage. He gave the morning to me, and expressed his views of the state of the country with the utmost freedom. I found him decidedly opposed to the election of Mr. Clay, and I expressed my regret at his hostility to the candidate of the Whig party. He gave me his reasons at length for his opposition to Mr. Clay; he left wholly out of view their personal relations, and there was not the slightest asperity in his tone; but he based his objection to him mainly on the ground of his declared opposition to the annexation of Texas. Mr. Tyler regarded that measure as far the most important in American politics; it overshadowed every other; it was essen-

tial to the protection of the South ; and promised, if successful, to enhance the power, wealth, and prosperity of the whole country. His ardor in stating his views to me greatly interested me, and I assured him of my full concurrence with his statesman-like attitude in regard to a question of such vast importance. At the same time I frankly expressed my regret at his hostility to Mr. Clay's election ; as a Whig, I regarded his success in the canvass as essential to the good government of the country, and I would never abandon the standard of a party so wise in its policy and so patriotic in its traditions and its objects. He regretted that the party had committed its fortunes to the leading of Mr. Clay, an imperious chief, who would conduct it to certain defeat. In this conversation with Mr. Tyler I felt for the first time a distrust of Mr. Clay's leadership. I had followed him for years with the ardor of youth ; his grand statesmanship had captivated me, and in the midst of the most perilous surroundings I had pressed to his standard as the soldiers of King Henry of Navarre rode to battle wherever his white plume led them at Ivry. I could not turn away from him now. I was strongly attached to Mr. Tyler ; he was one of the most fascinating men I had ever known—brilliant, eloquent, even more charming than Mr. Calhoun in conversation, with that warmth of manner so irresistible with young men ; but his persuasion was lost upon me ; when I took leave of him I was as true a Whig and as firm a friend of Mr. Clay as I had ever been.

The canvass for the presidency was in full sweep ; it may be said to have engrossed the country ; the enthusiasm for Henry Clay was at flood-tide ; wherever he travelled the receptions accorded to him were magnificent ovations ; the heart of the people warmed to him ; not only was he the chosen leader of the Whigs, but his personal qualities drew men to him irresistibly, while his

eloquence constituted him an unrivalled tribune of the people. Unhappily, however, he had declared his opposition to the annexation of Texas ; pausing at Raleigh in a triumphal career, he wrote a letter, in which he committed himself against the measure, already prepared by the administration, for the immediate annexation of that republic. It was understood that, by an interchange of views with Mr. Van Buren, who was the leader of the Democratic party, and whose nomination for the presidency by the convention to be held at Baltimore was supposed to be assured, both were to occupy the same ground in regard to the Texas question ; but Mr. Van Buren had lost the nomination on this very ground, and to the surprise of the whole country Mr. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, had been brought out as the candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency, avowing himself decidedly in favor of the annexation of Texas. But for this issue the election of Mr. Clay by a large majority was supposed to be as certain as any future event dependent upon the popular will could be ; but after his letter there was observed a small cloud rising on the horizon, so bright before, that threw its ominous shadow over his fortunes. Some of his truest friends, like Calphurnia, the wife of Cæsar, had presaging dreams of his defeat at the last moment. Mr. Clay himself treated Mr. Polk with disdain ; he did not entertain a thought of discomfiture ; he was as buoyant as Napoleon at Waterloo, who is described by Victor Hugo as surveying the field before the battle, and, in view of some adverse appearances, seemed to say to fate, "Wouldst thou dare ?" His friends were full of courage and hope, and bore themselves gallantly everywhere. I had just returned to the country after an absence of some years in Europe, and I looked over the field with the deepest interest ; a great popular contest roused me ; it was so American that I entered into it with all my heart.

Upon my arrival at Montgomery I was generously received ; a large number of my friends assembled to welcome me. In the evening I was serenaded at my home. The enthusiasm of my old and true friends warmed my heart, as they extended to me and to my family a reception that showed how deeply their hearts were moved. This beautiful city seated on the banks of the Alabama, and surrounded by a wide belt of the most fertile lands, where planters of ample means and high culture lived with elegant and profuse hospitality, was one of the most cultivated and delightful places in the South ; its hills crowned with beautiful residences, and its streets exhibiting a large and growing commerce, while magnificent steamboats floated on its abounding river, bore the products of the soil to Mobile, and returning, landed at numerous places on the banks passengers and merchandise.

Shortly after my arrival a mass-meeting of the friends of Mr. Clay was held in Montgomery, and gentlemen of distinction in Alabama and other States were invited to address the people. The most elaborate preparations were made for the occasion ; the meeting was held in the open air, with a large platform erected for the accommodation of visitors, which was beautifully decorated, and ladies in large numbers were seated on it, while the grove was filled with gentlemen seated in their carriages or standing, the whole scene presenting one of those Southern pictures, no more to be witnessed in these times of ours, under the new conditions of society.

Among the invited guests was a gentleman already advancing upon the road destined to conduct him to great distinction, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, who had just been elected to Congress. His appearance was remarkable : pale, with piercing dark eyes, an intellectual cast of features, slender, he might have been mistaken for a youth in delicate health, just emerged from college, and giving but little promise of force in public life ; a voice

shrill but musical, and while not flexible, singularly pleasing. He attracted great attention ; his slight person, it seemed too frail to fit him for great tasks of any kind, disappointing the expectations awakened by the reputation which he had already gained. Seated upon the stage, surrounded by other gentlemen, his boyish appearance interested every one in him, and won for him a sympathy that contributed greatly to his success as an orator. I had the honor of being chosen to welcome the guests to the convention, standing in a floral arch which had been constructed for the speakers, and made the first address.

Mr. Stephens followed me, and addressed the immense audience in a brilliant speech, stating the strong points in the campaign, and illustrated them with anecdotes that drew from the people tumultuous applause ; comparing Mr. Clay with Mr. Polk in a way to recall the famous lines of Shakspeare, in which Hamlet contrasts the late king, his father, "with the front of Jove himself," with the queen's husband, "like a mill-dew'd cur blasting his wholesome brother," so that when he concluded the shout of the people was one wave of boundless enthusiasm.

Another gentleman, of a widely different order from Mr. Stephens, Honorable Arthur F. Hopkins, of Mobile, delivered a great speech. Mr. Hopkins was a man of a high order, of fine appearance, his bearing full of dignity, a lawyer of great ability, who had adorned a seat on the Supreme Court bench of the State, a statesman of large attainments and national views, with noble aims and singular purity of character. His speech made a great impression, and Mr. Stephens said to me, "There is a man who would make a good Cabinet minister," showing his appreciation of one whom he had never seen before, and so eminently fitted to take part in the administration of a great government.

The canvass for the presidency was drawing towards its close, and while the friends of Mr. Clay were full of ardor,

and did not think it possible that a leader who shone so conspicuously before the people, and attracted them as no other man could, was to be defeated by a man so far his inferior in statesmanship and grace of manner and all grand qualities, as Mr. Polk; still there were upon the sky some signs of coming disaster, that might be as fatal as the storm that swept the field of Waterloo the night before the great battle that decided the fortunes of Napoleon in the last stand that he made for the mastery of Europe. His opposition to the annexation of Texas lost him many supporters; and upon the banners displayed by the Democrats in their popular gatherings were the ominous words, "Polk, Dallas, and Texas." It was a temptation too great to be borne; a young and free state, of imperial proportions, peopled by men of our own blood, who had won their independence upon hard-fought battle-fields, stood ready to come into our Union, bringing not only a vast increase of power and wealth, but affording a still greater security to the Southern section of the country. The candidates of the Whig party were Mr. Clay and Mr. Frelinghuysen, who were known to possess ample qualifications, and were enjoying the confidence of the people to an unlimited extent. They were confronted by Mr. James K. Polk and Mr. George M. Dallas, both gentlemen of high respectability, but neither possessing extraordinary qualifications for the great places to which they aspired, nor wielding any commanding influence in the country. Yet when the election was held the Democratic candidates were, by a large majority, successful. They won the States of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Michigan. The Whigs carried the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. In the electoral college the vote stood for

Mr. Polk and Mr. Dallas one hundred and seventy ; for Mr. Clay and Mr. Frelinghuysen one hundred and five, giving to the Democratic candidates a majority of sixty-five. The great State of New York decided the contest. It was counted upon with certainty by the friends of Mr. Clay, but it gave its thirty-six electoral votes to Mr. Polk, by the slender majority of about five thousand, in a popular vote of five hundred thousand. By so narrow a margin was the victory won for the Democratic party ; the thirty-six votes of New York given to Mr. Clay would have made him president. The defeat of Mr. Clay was like the fall of a great leader, whose standard goes down in a decisive battle ; it was a disaster felt throughout the country, and was observed by the whole civilized world.

I found the Montgomery district represented in Congress by Honorable James E. Belser, of that city, a leader of the Democratic party, a lawyer, of sterling character, and a man who possessed a large share of the confidence of the people. He had, at the previous election, defeated the Whig candidate by a decided majority. The district was large, extending from the Alabama to the Chattahoochee River, and bounded on the south by Florida, consisting of the counties of Montgomery, Macon, Russell, Pike, Barbour, Coffee, Henry, Dale, and Covington. As a candidate on the electoral ticket for General Harrison I had canvassed this large territory, and had acquired a considerable majority for the Whig candidate for the presidency ; but in my absence, by the excellent management of the Democratic leaders, and the personal popularity of Mr. Belser, it had been taken out of the control of my friends. It had never been represented by a Whig, and the other districts of the State were under the control of the Democratic party. The recent defeat of Mr. Clay had disheartened our friends, but they appealed to me to become the candidate for Congress, immediately after my return from Europe, and at the convention held in the spring of 1845

I was regularly nominated. Several gentlemen aspired to the distinction of leading what was regarded by many as a forlorn hope, but upon being informed of my nomination I promptly accepted it. Soon after the Democrats held their convention, and Mr. Belser having declined to accept a re-nomination, John Cochran, Esquire, of Eufaula, in the county of Barbour, was nominated. He accepted the call of his party, and his friends believed that he would achieve a victory; he was a man of about my own age, of fine person, magnetic, strong intellectuality, finely educated, a lawyer of prominence, an unrivalled stump speaker, of admirable temper, self-possessed to such a degree that it was impossible to disconcert him; his fund of anecdote equal to that of Mr. Stephens, and, to make him still more formidable, his manners endeared him to people of every class. Certainly a more formidable antagonist could not have been found in the district to contend with me in the canvass that was to decide the supremacy of the Whig or Democratic party in that great and important district. I announced my appointments to address the people, and selected Glennville, the beautiful town in Barbour County, distinguished for the wealth, culture, and refinement of its inhabitants, as the first place where I would speak, and I had invited my opponent, Mr. Cochran, to meet me in debate. A great concourse of people met us. A large platform had been constructed, upon which a number of leading men of both parties took seats, and two gentlemen were selected to preside, and see that good order was maintained throughout the discussion. A skirmish took place in advance of the speaking, in regard to the order of debate; the friends of Mr. Cochran insisted that he should be allowed the conclusion, but when this request was submitted to me I promptly rejected it upon the ground that appointments had been made for me to address the people, and while my opponent was invited to meet me, and was entitled to equal terms as to

time, and the right of opening and closing the debate on alternate days, still as this was our first meeting I thought it due to me to have the privilege of replying in conclusion. This was conceded; time, and the order of debate was announced: Mr. Cochran to open with a speech of one hour and a half, and I to have the privilege of replying, with the same limitation as to time. The debate was animated. Mr. Cochran made an ingenious attack on the antecedents and policy of the Whig party, and exhibited the success of the Democratic administrations in limiting the expenditures of the government, claiming as a great triumph its annexation of Texas to the United States. His friends warmly applauded his speech, and seemed highly elated. As I advanced to the stand to speak I was greeted with hearty cheers by my friends, who seemed to be full of courage and hope. I stated at the outset that I appreciated the marked ability displayed by Mr. Cochran in the speech he had just delivered; that his party, fortunate in many things, might be congratulated on the selection of a gentleman so well fitted to present its cause to the people of this district, but that I could not be misled by the tact that he displayed by making a vigorous assault upon the Whig party, with the hope of putting me on the defensive, which really disclosed the weakness of his own position. I was not there to defend the great party which had recently suffered defeat, a party led by a statesman so illustrious that even his enemies did not dare to assault him; but to discuss the policy of the Democrats, who in bringing forward a candidate for the presidency had passed over their distinguished men, and brought out a man unknown to the country, and who had won his election solely upon the strength of the issue of the annexation of Texas, and when taking his seat in the chair of state, wore not a single laurel on his brow. The annexation of Texas was not a Democratic triumph; its ablest leader, Mr. Van Buren, opposed it, so did Mr. Ben-

ton, while a great many Whigs favored it ; that I, while in the public service abroad, had contributed what I could to the success of the measure. I proceeded to arraign the Democratic party as responsible for the sub-treasury scheme, separating the money affairs of the government from those of the people, and bringing the business of the country into deplorable confusion. I appealed to the people to restore the Whigs to power that they might arrest the tendency of the Democratic party to encourage sectional strife, which must bring ruin upon the country. At the conclusion of my speech the applause was enthusiastic, and my friends crowded about me with their congratulations.

In the afternoon there was an interesting exhibition of oratory by a large class under the training of Professor Copeland, a distinguished elocutionist. In the evening we had an attractive entertainment given at the College for Young Ladies, of which Rev. Sereno Taylor was president. It was an institution of a high order, and the concert rendered by the young ladies, vocal and instrumental, was really charming ; there was a large church organ and a smaller one, several pianos, violins, great and small, and the audience was immense. An incident occurred that was greatly enjoyed : Mr. Taylor was a venerable gentleman, kind and good, not avowing his political bias, and at the end of the concert he rose and said that we had found the day interesting ; there had been a great political discussion in the morning, and a fine oratorical exhibition in the afternoon, while he believed that the concert just closed had afforded great pleasure to all, and it was proper to crown the exercises with appropriate religious services. He therefore proposed "that Mr. Cochran should read the one hundredth Psalm, and Mr. Hilliard should pray." A suppressed burst of mirth was heard throughout the assembly, when Colonel Cochran, who sat near me, leaned over to me and said : "I can't read the Psalm." So I rose and said :

“Mr. Cochran naturally finds it embarrassing to read the Scriptures in public,” but that I would read the Psalm if Mr. Taylor would pray. Mr. Taylor acceded to this, so I rose and read the noble Psalm, and Mr. Taylor taking his seat at the organ played and sang the words set to music, and then, reverently kneeling, offered prayer. It was learned afterwards that Mr. Cochran had said that he thought wherever I conducted religious services he should be allowed to read the hymns; Mr. Taylor had never heard this, but innocently and kindly wished to extend a courtesy to my opponent. The report of the incident was much enjoyed throughout the district. My personal relations with Mr. Cochran were never disturbed in the excited and protracted canvass in the extensive territory through which we travelled; and the result was regarded as doubtful to the end. It required great energy on my part to establish the ascendancy of the Whig party; never losing an opportunity to visit doubtful parts of the district. The county of Covington, a small but reliable stronghold of the Whigs, had given to Mr. Clay, in the recent election, a majority of but ten votes; and at the close of the joint discussion with my opponent I took a young friend with me and drove through it once more, and was rewarded for my attention by a majority of a hundred and ten votes at the Congressional election.

After a protracted and interesting canvass of the whole district I was elected by a good majority, and achieved the first victory for the Whig party in a contest for a seat in Congress, my friends enjoying the triumph the more as I was the only successful candidate of that party in the State.

My election to Congress occurred in August, within less than twelve months after my return from Europe.





CHAPTER XVI.

Opening of Congress, December, 1845—The Senate—The House of Representatives—Sketches of Members—President's Message—Texas—Oregon—Debate on the Oregon Question—Negotiation and Settlement.

THE opening of Congress in December, 1845 was an occasion of unusual interest. The administration of Mr. Polk was to make the first announcement of its policy; great events had occurred within the last twelve months; important questions affecting the relations of the United States with England and Texas were impending; the financial affairs of the country required the aid of wise legislation. A large number of new members were to take their seats in the House of Representatives, while the Senate had on its roll the names of many renowned statesmen.

The President's Cabinet was composed of men of ability and distinction: James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Mr. Dallas, the Vice-President, presided with great dignity and much grace of manner in the Senate; his personal appearance was striking: while yet in the prime of life his hair was white and, brushed back from the forehead, fell in rich locks almost to his shoulders; his dress

was always elegant, full black ; he wore invariably a white cravat, which was singularly becoming to his rich complexion. As he sat with republican simplicity in his chair he was more impressive than the Lord Chancellor of England seated on the wool-sack with his ample wig and black silk gown. In looking down upon the senators, in their seats ranged around the chamber, he saw illustrious men : among them Daniel Webster, John Davis, from the commonwealth of Massachusetts ; John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, from South Carolina ; Thomas H. Benton, from Missouri ; Willie P. Mangum, from North Carolina ; John A. Dix, from New York ; William Allen and Thomas Corwin, from Ohio ; John M. Berrien and Walter T. Colquit, from Georgia ; John J. Crittenden, from Kentucky ; Reverdy Johnson, from Maryland, and Lewis Cass, from Michigan, with other men of mark. Mr. Clay had not yet returned to the Senate ; he came later.

In taking my seat in the House of Representatives, I observed among those who, like myself, had entered that body for the first time : Robert Toombs, of Georgia, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. There was a large Democratic majority in the House, and Honorable John W. Davis, of Indiana, was elected Speaker on the first ballot, Honorable Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, receiving the Whig vote. In looking over the hall I observed a large number of able men, some of them already distinguished, and others destined to attain great places in the government of the country, and exert a powerful influence upon public affairs. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, occupied a seat alone, near mine, and was an object of universal regard and consideration ; a great and picturesque man, standing near the extreme boundary of human life, yet in possession of his intellectual power, and with unimpaired vision, observing with intense interest everything about him, the memories and glories of a past age clustering upon him and still contributing to the

advancement of measures for the increase of the power and prosperity of the republic.

I had been fortunate in the choice of a seat, not far from the Speaker's chair, and it afforded me advantages in debate, and in observing and hearing the proceedings of the House. The desk accommodating three, I, having first choice, took the corner seat nearest the Speaker; Honorable Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, the other corner; while Honorable Charles J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, the historian, and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, though a Democratic leader, took the central seat; a charming man in conversation, he was very entertaining. George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, one of the able men of the Democratic party, also took a seat near me; he was an interesting man, and had served several terms. A shadow rested upon him. Some years previously he became involved in a quarrel with a gentleman with whom he held friendly relations, and was so unfortunate as to kill him in a duel; fatal to one of the parties instantly, and blighting the life of the other. A personal friendship sprang up between Mr. Dromgoole and myself, notwithstanding our disagreement in politics, which continued throughout our service in Congress. On the other side of the House, directly opposite me, sat my colleague, William L. Yancey, already displaying those brilliant parts which distinguished him so greatly afterwards. He had entered Congress from an adjoining district, his residence being at Wetumpka during my absence in Europe. His personal appearance was fine: above the medium height, and well knit; a good head; his face full of intellectual force; eyes bright, and expressive of the warmth of his temper; his chin well formed, and the whole aspect leonine. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, had served several terms, and his rank was high. He impressed me from the first as a man of intellect, of character, and of fine attainments; his bearing was impressive;

about six feet in height, well formed, his face expressive of culture and sentiment; wearing glasses, which did not conceal the clear gray eyes; at all times extremely well dressed; there was about him a look of refinement and ability that would have attracted attention to him in any parliamentary body in the world. It was said that he bore a strong resemblance to the portrait of his ancestor, John Winthrop, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts.

Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, came to the House with a great reputation, and sustained it. He was, by a piece of good fortune, elected Speaker, the contending parties having failed to agree in their support of either of the nominees; but he failed to be re-elected. He retained his seat in the House, and was a strong man, destined to higher distinction. His personal appearance was prepossessing, indicating ability and character.

Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was already one of the leading members of the House, and distinctly a man of large faculties. His head was fine, not only massive, but well proportioned; his face was striking—the features large, the mouth good, the lips firm but not stern, the chin prominent, the eyes large, dark, and full of expression; his stature was short, but his person well formed, indicating strength and activity; and his manners were unaffected and very pleasing. He held the important place of chairman of the Committee on Territories.

Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was a man of recognized ability, a born leader of men; he was very popular, and wielded a large influence in the House; his face was fine, full of animation and character, and his person, like that of Fox, was full, but not unwieldy.

Alexander H. Stephens, his colleague, was one of the noted men in the House. Tall, slender, a sallow complexion; dark, piercing eyes; black hair, worn long, he was the impersonation of intellect; clear, bright, like the flame of a light-house throwing its illuminating rays over every

object that came within its range, and his figure and bearing vividly recalling the pictures which we have of John Randolph, of Roanoke.

Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was a conspicuous person. Seated among the Democratic members, he could not be overlooked: there was an expression of vigilant intelligence in his face; his dark eyes, which seemed to observe everything, had a kindly but yet sinister look, displaying a lurking distrust, but his head was good and his aspect resolute. In the whole person of this remarkable man there was an appearance of manliness and independence, and his sincere honesty no man could doubt; his popular tastes were as decided as his political principles.

Joseph R. Ingersoll differed widely from his brother Charles, in appearance, manners, and political principles. Both represented districts in Philadelphia; but while Charles was scholarly and had fine manners, he was an intense Democrat, and reminded me of a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in Paris, conspicuously seated on the extreme Left. Joseph R. was a Whig of the most pronounced type; his fair complexion, blue eyes, and auburn hair were in marked contrast with those of his brother, whose coloring was dark, and whose closely cut hair was in the French style. Joseph R. Ingersoll, if not the most accomplished man in the House, was unsurpassed for his elegant tastes, fine attainments, and faultless style of dress. Though a much younger man than himself, we became, from the first, close friends, and saw much of each other.

There was a member from Vermont who interested me greatly—Jacob Collamer. Judge Collamer's appearance was that of a gentleman of fine breeding. Trained in the old school of statesmen, his extensive learning and genial nature made him very entertaining in conversation, and there was a general style in his expression of opinion

touching public questions that one rarely finds in public bodies ; he was loyal to the sentiment of the North in matters which affected sectional interests, but his fairness towards the South was sincere and hearty. In dress he preferred the old style, retaining something of the elegance in his costume which we observe in the portraits of gentlemen of an earlier period. He extended to me proofs of his regard from our first acquaintance ; his fund of anecdote was large, and his illustrations were singularly felicitous ; his services to the Whig party were important, and were fully appreciated.

Robert Toombs, of Georgia, sat on the Whig side of the House, having been elected to Congress from a district adjoining that of Mr. Stephens. He had already served with distinction in the Legislature of Georgia, and was a lawyer of marked ability. On the hustings he was unrivalled, swaying the people in the great mass-meetings of the time. Mr. Stephens had entered Congress two years previously, and he was from the first a close friend of Mr. Toombs ; there was a marked contrast in the appearance of the gentlemen, but in intellectual force it was not easy to say which was the superior. The personal appearance of Mr. Toombs was impressive ; he stood six feet in height, and was finely proportioned, his broad shoulders and deep chest indicating power ; his head was fine, not of the ideal type of regnant intellect, but with a full development of the organs that constitute strength ; his face was full of expression, and his dark eyes were lit with the blended fire of mind and passion. He was pre-eminently a man of power, fitted for the contests of the forum and for the gladiatorial strife of parliamentary discussion, a man that in any assembly would have been looked upon as a leader. His bearing was commanding, and yet he was free in his intercourse with others.

Entering the House the same day with Mr. Toombs, but taking his seat on the Democratic side of the hall, was

a gentleman of about the same age, destined to fill a large place in the view of the country—Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. His appearance was prepossessing—tall, slender, with a soldierly bearing, a fine head, an intellectual face; there was a look of culture and refinement about him that made a favorable impression from the first, and the attainments which he displayed, even in conversation, commanded the respect of those who met him. He had graduated at West Point, having been appointed to the Military Academy by President Monroe, and served seven years in the army, engaged in Indian warfare, when he resigned his commission. He became a cotton planter in Mississippi, pursuing at the same time liberal studies, taking part in politics; he was actively engaged in the presidential canvass for Mr. Polk, and was elected to Congress in 1845, taking his seat at the opening of the session in December.

On the same day a gentleman from Ohio entered the House, who has since risen to great distinction—Allen G. Thurman. Mr. Thurman's career has been eminently honorable and useful to the country; rising above the level of mere party lines, he is regarded by the whole country with respect and confidence; a great lawyer, a statesman of ability and patriotic views, a man of noble personal qualities, the evening of his life is illumined by cloudless sunlight.

There were other men of mark entitled to notice, whom I may describe hereafter, as they appear, taking part in public affairs.

Mr. Polk's first annual message to Congress was full of interest; it presented for consideration several subjects of great importance—our relations with Mexico, affected by the annexation of Texas, the conflicting claims of the United States and Great Britain to Oregon, the public debt, and the revision of the tariff. The annexation of Texas without a previous understanding with Mexico had

given great offence to that republic. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico had been disturbed ; General Almonte, the Mexican Minister, had been recalled, and Mr. Slidell, the Minister sent by us to Mexico, had not been received. Warlike preparations were going on in Mexico, and while no formal declaration had been made, still it was plain that hostilities must soon follow, unless some satisfactory terms could be agreed upon between the two countries. The President informed Congress that recently Mexico had consented to receive a minister from the United States, who was on his way to the city of Mexico ; that he had been instructed to bring the negotiations with which he was charged to a conclusion at the earliest practicable period, with the view to enable the President to communicate the result to Congress during the present session ; and until the result was known he forbore to recommend such ulterior measures of redress for the wrongs and injuries we had so long borne, as it would be proper to make had no such negotiations been instituted.

The Oregon question had grown into great importance ; the negotiations for its solution, which had commenced in Mr. Tyler's administration, had now terminated. The United States had proposed at one time to make the parallel of forty-nine degrees the dividing line between the two countries, but this proposition had since been revoked ; and the new administration now asserted our title to the whole territory up to the Russian boundary, fifty-four degrees and forty minutes. The President recommended Congress to authorize the notice to be given which was to terminate the joint occupancy, to extend our laws over the territory, and to encourage our people to take possession of it. Thus the question submitted to Congress was really one of peace or war. Early in the session the following resolution was reported to the House by Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs :

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled ; That the President of the United States forthwith cause notice to be given to the government of Great Britain that the convention between the United States and Great Britain concerning the territory of Oregon of the 6th of August, 1827, signed at London, shall be annulled and abrogated twelve months after the expiration of the said term of notice, conformable to the second article of the said convention of the 6th of August, 1827.”

A great debate followed the introduction of the joint resolution, in which gentlemen differing widely in political affiliations took part.

Mr. Adams, flaming with the ardor of the Revolution, and speaking with the vehemence of his youth, asserted our claim to the disputed territory, and urged the importance of protecting our people, who had already gone there as settlers, in such terms as to rouse the House into applause.

Mr. Douglas urged the importance of giving the notice to Great Britain at the earliest day, and proposed to provide at once for building forts and stockades, and for asserting our exclusive jurisdiction over the whole Oregon territory at the very instant when the twelve months should expire.

Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll represented the necessity for taking steps at once for the protection of our people, stating that thousands of men, women, and children were on their way to that distant territory, and he would have the President give immediate notice to Great Britain for the termination of the joint occupancy of the territory.

Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, took the floor, and delivered a speech of remarkable interest, in opposition to the joint resolution. He objected decidedly to the policy of giving to Great Britain the notice to terminate the joint occupancy of Oregon. The title was too doubtful,

the territory too unimportant, to endanger our friendly relations with a great power. Instead of a positive assertion of our claim, which, if pressed in the spirit displayed by the administration, must result in war, he urged that it should be submitted to arbitration—an honorable, wise, statesman-like mode of adjusting the rights of contending nations, and insisting upon the preservation of peace as the duty of the government. His speech interested me greatly; it was scholarly, dignified, beautiful; and in his manner there was a blended grace and manliness that impressed me. But I did not concur in his views, either as to our title, or as to the proper mode of enforcing our claim, nor as to the value of the territory involved, and I decided to reply to the speech at the earliest day when I could obtain the floor. Mr. Winthrop spoke on the third day of January; on the fifth day I rose, and was recognized by the Speaker; it was near the usual hour of closing the day's sitting, and I moved an adjournment of the House—it was carried without objection. This entitled me to the floor the next morning, and afforded me the great advantage of a night's preparation for the coming ordeal. It was to be my first speech in Congress, the question was one of the highest interest and importance, some of the leading men of the House had already discussed it, and I felt that to me personally it was an ordeal such as I had not been subjected to before, and which must result in deciding my status and affecting my influence in public life. My convictions in regard to the proper treatment of the disputed claim were clear and strong; I had just returned from Brussels, where I had resided for some years the diplomatic representative of the government, and had observed the importance of maintaining the rights of nations firmly and resolutely in negotiations affecting them, so that I was prepared to give my views to the House with confidence in their being entitled to consideration.

The morning was fine, the seats were filled, the galleries were crowded and, to heighten the interest of the occasion, soon after the session opened Mrs. Madison entered the hall and was conducted to a seat in the space in front of the Speaker's chair. Mrs. Madison rarely appeared in either house; I had been presented to her just before my departure for Europe, by Senator Preston, of South Carolina, in a way to interest her, and I was much pleased to observe that she was to hear my first speech in Congress. In rising to address the House I stated my confidence in our title to Oregon, resting as it did upon the title which we had acquired from Spain, and on Captain Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River, on the admitted principle of international law, that by whatsoever nation the mouth of a river is discovered, to that nation belongs the whole of the valley which is drained by its waters; that enlightened nations do clearly hold that the jurisdiction and laws of a nation accompany her ships, not only over the high seas, but into ports and harbors, or wheresoever they may be water-borne, for the general purpose of governing and regulating the rights, duties, and obligations on board thereof; and that to the extent of the exercise of this jurisdiction they are considered as parts of the territory of the nation herself. It was in this spirit that Captain Gray, of Boston, the American navigator, entering the mouth of that great stream, which had never before been entered by any navigator, gave it the name of his ship, *Columbia*, thus associating with it for all times memories of his country and of his home. If our title be clear we should proceed to enforce it; the time for "masterly inactivity" had gone by; we must act immediately if we would act with effect, whether we regard the perpetuity of peace or the possession of the territory in dispute; if we would avoid war, we must have the causes of war passed upon and settled. We must assert our rights; we must shun a

temporizing policy; we must adopt measures, and carry them to the very farthest verge to which they can be maintained without the violation of the terms of the convention, otherwise we shall find that the population of the two nations, intermixing in that remote territory, carrying with them the prejudices and the heat of contending parties, protected by, and amenable to, conflicting jurisdictions, entering into the eager competitions of trade, will at no distant date precipitate us into a war with Great Britain. By delay we have incurred the danger of losing the territory altogether. The whole colonial history of the British Empire shows the tenacity with which a colony is held by that power. Already at Willamette falls in latitude $45^{\circ} 20'$ there is a prosperous and growing settlement under the protection of the British government. We should give the notice, so often referred to in this debate, not in the form proposed in the bill, reported by the chairman of the Committee on Territories, Mr. Douglas, or in the resolution more recently reported by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ingersoll. I proposed to submit an amendment to that resolution, striking out the words which refer to giving notice by a joint act of both houses, and inserting a provision empowering the President of the United States to give such notice when, in his opinion, the public welfare shall require it.

"I am for giving to the President all the energy and efficiency which he requires in a matter of this kind. I would establish a territorial government in Oregon, so organized as not to conflict with the provisions of the convention. My plan would be to send them out a governor, a sagacious, prudent, experienced, cautious man, who would be able to sweep the whole field with his eye, and give information and counsel to the government here as to what was doing and what ought to be done. If any gentleman doubts our power to establish such a government over the whole of the territory, or apprehends

collision with the British authorities, then I say place your governor south of the Columbia River ; that at least is a portion of the territory which, I presume, no gentleman in the House is prepared to surrender. The language of every one here, I doubt not, will be like that of the poet :

“ ‘ And many a banner shall be torn,
And many a knight to ground be borne,
And many a sheaf of shafts be spent,
Ere Scotland's king shall cross the Trent.’ ”

“ And now, Sir, I am met with the question : suppose these measures should lead to war ? I do not think they will lead to war ; they ought not. But we are not at liberty in this matter to turn away from a just consideration of our national rights and our national honor to look at consequences. We are going onward, as we should, protecting our own citizens. We are following the example of the Republic of Rome, which caused Roman law to prevail, and the ægis of Roman protection to be extended wherever Roman citizens pressed. If, however, while pursuing such a policy, a policy wise, vigorous, but conciliatory, war should come upon us, I trust the country will be prepared to meet it. If it should come upon us as the result of a moderate but firm assertion of our national rights, the response in every American bosom must be, ‘ Let it come ! ’ The venerable gentleman from Massachusetts near me (Mr. Adams), in tones which rang on my heart like a trumpet, reminded me of the days of our revolutionary glory. The old fire which blazed so brightly in that ever memorable struggle seemed to be flashing up within him, and while I listened to his patriotic strains I felt assured that in such a cause we should all act as one man. If we should go into the war in this spirit, I should feel little anxiety as to how we should come out of it. The power of England is vast, culminating to the highest point. It must soon reach that climax in the history of nations from which they have one after another commenced their decline, and she ought not to enter into a contest with a great power ; if wise counsels prevail, she will not. Yet if she should be so irrational, on the ground of

such a controversy as that of Oregon, to rush into such a contest, I trust that she will be driven back from these shores shorn of her splendor; and she may be very sure that when this happens it will prove no temporary eclipse, but will endure for all time to come, and she will be left a portent in the political heavens,

“ ‘Shedding disastrous twilight over half the nations.’ ”

I proceeded to show the importance of Oregon as in a political view.

“England has a frontier to the north of us extending three thousand miles, and stretching entirely across the continent; if we permit her to come from that line, some five hundred miles down the coast of the Pacific, we shall give her the opportunity of filling up the only break which now exists in that line of continuous fortifications, with which her energy and vast resources have encompassed the globe. It is the political value of the territory which, with her accustomed sagacity, she sees and appreciates. Before we count the value of Oregon, we must look across the Pacific and estimate that trade with China and the Eastern Archipelago, which is soon to open upon us in all its riches, grandeur, and magnificence. As things now exist our vessels, returning from the ports of Eastern Asia, have, as it were, to run the gauntlet through a long line of British naval posts from which they are exposed to attack. Her numerous naval stations enable her to keep her fleets in every sea, and however widely spread this Eastern commerce may be, and however inestimable its value, it is subject in a moment to be arrested. But if we establish our ports, and plant our settlements on the shores of the Pacific, our commerce will float in comparative safety over the tranquil bosom of that widespread ocean. Gentlemen have spoken of the policy of President Monroe, who declared to the nations of the Old World that they would not be tolerated in any interference with the balance of power on this continent, and that they must establish no more colonies on our shores. I am in favor of this policy, so far as it can with justice be carried out. Where

European nations have already possessions on this continent they should be suffered to hold them without molestation, but we may well oppose their planting new colonies in this, our Western world. The honor of this sentiment, however, it is but fair to say, belongs justly as much to the gentlemen from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) as it does to Mr. Monroe; for although the latter was the chief magistrate, the former was at the same time Secretary of State, and if he did not suggest, he certainly sanctioned, the policy. The present Executive maintains the same doctrine, and I do not doubt the whole country will come into it."

I proceeded to give my views of the commercial value of Oregon, stating that England and the United States were the only competitors for the trade of Southern China, the trade of North China being in the hands of the Russians, mainly conducted at the annual fair held at Kiachta, lasting for about two months, at which the traders of the two nations assemble and carry on their commercial transactions, but that South China was in the hands of England and this country; that England imported every year four hundred and fifty thousand chests of tea, while we imported two hundred thousand, besides muslins, silks, and other commodities of great value.

"In this gainful traffic England regards us as a rival power, and she is by no means disposed to give it up. The coast of Oregon fronts that of China, and presents great facilities for carrying on this important branch of commerce. Fully to avail ourselves, however, of these advantages, we ought to connect Oregon with the State of Missouri by the construction of a railroad. This is not so visionary and wild a scheme as at the first view some gentlemen may be disposed to consider it; let them reflect that it is but about fifteen years since Mr. Huskisson lost his life in an experimental trip between Liverpool and Manchester, over the first railroad ever constructed in England. And what is she doing in that system now? And

then look on the Continent, and see already completed a large part of one continuous line of railroad, which is to stretch out twenty-seven hundred miles, entirely across Europe, from Odessa to Bremen, while another line will presently extend from the Adriatic for near a thousand miles. . . . Should such a road be constructed, it will become the great highway of the world ; we shall, before long, monopolize the trade of the eastern coasts of Asia. At present it is stated that the shortest possible voyage from London to Canton occupies seventy days, but it is estimated over such a railroad a traveller might pass from London to Canton in forty days. . . . With a route so short and so direct as this, might we not reasonably hope to command both the trade and travel of the world ? Engrafted on this plan, and as its natural adjunct, is the extension of a magnetic telegraph, which will follow the course of the road, unite these two, and where is the imagination that can grasp the consequences ? Whale ships, returning from their long and hazardous voyages, might touch upon the Pacific coast, and instantly transmit across the continent tidings of their safety and success. In either of the views which I have presented it is impossible that the importance of Oregon can be overlooked. I trust that these great results will be realized, and I hope at no distant day to see a mail line established across the continent. England has very recently been engaged in an experiment in ascertaining the shortest overland route across the Continent to the East Indies, and I believe the Oriental Steam Company has determined on that through Germany, by Trieste, but if we construct this railroad she will then be dependent on us for the shortest and most expeditious as well as safest route to China and her East India possessions. Is not the language of Berkeley in progress of fulfilment, when he wrote that immortal line, 'Westward the star of empire takes its way' ? When Oregon shall be in our possession, when we shall have established a profitable trade with China through her ports ; when our ships traverse the Pacific, as they now cross the Atlantic, and all the countless consequences of such a state of things begin to flow in upon us, then will be fulfilled that vision which rapt and filled the mind of Nunez, as he gazed over the placid

waves of the Pacific. I will now address myself for a moment or two to the moral aspect of this great question. Gentlemen have talked much and eloquently of the horrors of war. I should regret the necessity of a war; I should deplore its dreadful scenes; but if the possession of Oregon gives us a territory opening upon the nation prospects such as I now describe, and if for the simple exercise of our rights in regard to it, Great Britain should wage upon us an unjust war, the regret which every one must feel will have much to counterbalance it. One of England's own writers has said: 'The possible destiny of the United States of America, as a nation of one hundred millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is an august conception.' It is an august conception, finely embodied, and I trust in God that it will at no distant day become a reality; I trust that the world will see through all time our people living not only under the laws of Alfred, but that they will be heard to speak throughout our widespread borders the language of Shakespeare and Milton. Above all it is my prayer that as long as our posterity shall continue to inhabit these mountains, and plains, and hills, and valleys, they may be found living under the sacred institutions of Christianity. Put these things together, and what a picture do they present to the mental eye! Civilization and intelligence started in the East; they have travelled and are still travelling westward, but when they shall have completed the circuit of the earth, and reached the extremest verge of the Pacific shores, then, unlike the fabled god of the ancients, who dipped his glowing axle in the western wave, they will there take up their permanent abode. Then shall we enjoy the sublime destiny of returning these blessings to their ancient seat; then will it be ours to give the priceless benefits of our free institutions, and the pure and healthful light of the Gospel back to the dark family which has so long lost both truth and freedom; then may Christianity plant herself there, and while with one hand she points to the Polynesian isles rejoicing in the late recovered treasure of revealed truth, with the other present the Bible to the Chinese. It is

our duty to aid in this great work. I trust we shall esteem it as much our honor as our duty. Let us not, like some of the British missionaries, give them the Bible in one hand and opium in the other, but bless them only with the pure word of truth. I hope the day is not distant ; soon, soon may its dawn arise to shed upon the farthest and most benighted of nations the splendor of more than a tropical sun."

I offered at the close of my remarks an amendment, such as I had indicated, in regard to empowering the President to give the notice to Great Britain.

Upon the conclusion of my speech, gentlemen from both sides of the House came forward and extended to me their congratulations with a warmth and generosity that gratified me greatly, and when the space cleared about my desk, Mr. Adams, rising from his seat, advanced with a beaming face. I rose to receive him, and, extending his hand, he said : " I come to congratulate you, Sir ; I think you have settled the question." I was deeply touched by this generous recognition from Mr. Adams, whose long and illustrious career, at home and abroad, crowned by the election to the presidency, entitled him to the highest consideration, and whose public sanction of the views I had just expressed in regard to a great question was the highest possible tribute I could receive.

From that time to the day of his death Mr. Adams honored me with his friendship, and extended to me marks of interest and consideration.

From eminent men throughout the country, and from the press of both parties I received expressions of approval of my course in regard to a great national question involving the rights, the honor, and the peace of the country, which greatly cheered me upon my entering upon my service in Congress.

The excitement in regard to the Oregon question rose to a great height ; the declaration in the inaugural of Mr.

Polk, asserting broadly and without qualification the title of the United States to the territory, and the purpose of the administration to maintain it, had roused the British government, and war seemed to be inevitable. The resolution to give the notice to Great Britain was adopted in the House by a large majority, and went to the Senate for its concurrence ; it was there amended, after a prolonged discussion, in the way I had proposed in the House, and finally adopted by a large majority.

It was then returned to the House, and the Senate's amendment was adopted by an increased vote, after the Committee of Conference between the two houses had met and considered the measure, and agreed upon the resolution to be reported to both houses. I had the honor to be a member of the Committee of Conference on the part of the House, and insisted upon giving the resolution the form which I had originally proposed, and which was finally adopted by both houses.

The President acted at once upon the discretion which had been given him, and caused the notice for the abrogation of the joint-occupancy article to be given immediately to the British government. He at the same time urged Congress to the adoption of proper measures for the protection of American citizens in the territory.

This led to a speedy adjustment of the question so full of danger to the friendly relations of the two great nations. Sir Robert Peel, with the manliness and breadth of view which at all times distinguished that great statesman, caused negotiations to be renewed for the adjustment of the conflicting claims ; and finally Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister at Washington, under instructions from his government, proposed the line of forty-nine degrees. It was accepted by the administration, and a treaty in accordance with the terms agreed on was submitted to the Senate, and ratified in that body by a large majority.



CHAPTER XVII.

Relations with Mexico—Measures Adopted by the President—War—Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—Supplies Voted—Views of the Two Houses of Congress—Archibald Yell—Jefferson Davis—Smithsonian Institution—Honorable Charles J. Ingersoll's attack on Mr. Webster—Hon. William L. Yancey.

OUR relations with Mexico, referred to by the President in his message, were still unfriendly. The annexation of Texas was regarded by Mexico as an act of flagrant hostility. An attempt to settle the question by negotiation had been made by the administration, but it had failed. Diplomatic intercourse had been interrupted, and Mexico declined to renew it. The President informed Congress that Mexico was marshalling and organizing armies, issuing proclamations, and avowing her intention of making war on the United States, either by open declaration, or by invading Texas. Both the congress and convention of the people of Texas invited our government to send an army to the western boundary of that State, to defend it against the menaced attack. The moment the terms of annexation offered by the United States were accepted by Texas, the President regarded that State as a part of our own country, and he felt it to be the duty of the government to afford it protection and defence. He therefore deemed it proper, as a precautionary measure, to order a strong squadron to the coast of Mexico, and to concentrate an efficient military force on the western frontier of Texas.

Our army was ordered to take position in the country between the Nueces and the Del Norte, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory, which might be attempted by the Mexican forces.

Our squadron in the Gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army.

But though our army and navy were placed in a position to defend our territory and to protect Texas, they were instructed to commit no act of hostility against Mexico unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow. The result had been that Mexico had made no aggressive movements, and our military and naval commanders had executed their orders with such discretion, that the peace of the two republics had not been disturbed.

This was the status of the session of Congress in December, 1845. General Zachary Taylor was in command of the first department of the army in the southwest. Congress having in March, 1845, passed the joint resolution annexing Texas, General Taylor was directed by the President to defend it against invasion, then threatened by Mexico. In July he embarked from New Orleans with a small force, not more than fifteen hundred men, and pitched his camp at Corpus Christi, Texas, where he was reinforced, so that in November his army amounted to four thousand men. Here General Taylor awaited positive instructions from the President to occupy the disputed territory between Texas and Mexico, and receiving this order about the 1st of March, 1846, he began his march toward the Rio Grande del Norte. On the 28th of March he took his position on the bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, encamped, and erected Fort Brown, which commanded the Mexican town, where the Mexicans were already throwing up batteries and redoubts. It sheds light upon history to observe the events that followed in the course of a few days. Gen-

eral Ampudia, on the 12th of April, in command of the Mexican forces, addressed a note to General Taylor, requiring him within twenty-four hours to break up his camp, and retire beyond the Nueces, "while our governments are regulating the pending question in relation to Texas," and stating that a non-compliance would be regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war. We may imagine how the heroic American commander received this communication, and the light that came into his face, as into the countenance of Cromwell, as he dictated his reply. His secretary, Colonel Bliss, was instructed to say that General Taylor was acting under instructions, which did not permit him to return to the Nueces, and that if the Mexican commander saw fit to begin hostilities he should not avoid the conflict. Arista soon after took command of the Mexican army, numbering some six thousand men, and crossed the Rio Grande. General Taylor, with a part of his troops, had gone down to Fort Isabel to look after supplies, and on his return march he was attacked by General Arista with his whole force at Palo Alto, on the 8th of May. General Taylor ranged his twenty-three hundred men in line of battle; Arista opened with an artillery fire and a charge of lancers, but was defeated after a conflict of five hours. The Americans drove the Mexicans from their position, and General Arista fell back on Resaca de la Palma.

A council was called by General Taylor at night, at which the chief officers of his command were present, to consider the situation. The disproportion between the force of General Taylor, consisting of but little more than two thousand men, and that of General Arista, numbering about six thousand, was so considerable that some of the officers, it is related, thought it best to strengthen their position, and await the attack of the enemy; but after the deliberations were ended General Taylor said: "I shall sleep at Fort Brown to-morrow night, if I live."

The orders were issued to be ready for an advance by daylight.

The following morning, May 9th, the Americans assaulted the position of the Mexicans at Resaca de la Palma, and after a severe contest routed them, and drove them across the Rio Grande. General Taylor was immediately promoted to the rank of major-general, and he crossed the river, and took possession of Matamoras.

An account of these events was transmitted to our government by a courier, with extraordinary rapidity, and the President promptly communicated the statement of what had taken place to Congress, in a special message. The President stated to the two houses of Congress that American blood had been spilt on American soil, and requested Congress to recognize the existence of war as a fact, and to provide for its prosecution; widely different opinions prevailed in Congress as to the responsibility for war, but supplies were promptly voted with but few dissenting voices. A war feeling pervaded the country, and troops were soon sent to the aid of General Taylor, who was ordered to conduct hostilities in the most vigorous way against Mexico. Several members of the House resigned their seats to take part in the war; among them were Mr. Archibald Yell, of Arkansas, and Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi.

It is proper to state here that an ominous cloud appeared in the horizon before the close of the session. A bill was before the House authorizing the President to use two millions of dollars in negotiating a treaty of peace with Mexico, and Honorable David Wilmot, a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, moved to amend it by adding the proviso that "as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty to be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated,

neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall be first duly convicted." This proviso was adopted in the House, being supported by nearly all the members from the non-slaveholding States, but did not make its way through the Senate because of want of time.

In the next session of Congress it was defeated in both houses. This formidable question brought into Congress, in connection with the war against Mexico, led subsequently to momentous results. In both the Whig and Democratic National Conventions, subsequently held, there were delegates from the Northern States who attempted to introduce into the party platform resolutions prohibiting the extension of slavery to the territories. The rejection of this resolution led to the secession of a considerable number of prominent men from both parties, especially in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio.

Mr. Wilmot was a gentleman of pleasing manners, fine culture, and admirable temper; he was not a fanatic, and it was not his purpose to bring about a conflict between the North and the South, then, or at any future time. His appearance was prepossessing; of middle height, a face expressing intelligence, and his manners so genial as to win friends for him from both parties.

An important measure was adopted by Congress during the session, organizing the Smithsonian Institution. It was based upon a bequest of James Smithson, an English gentleman who loved science and passed much of his time in pursuits which might enable him to illustrate it. At his death he bequeathed to his nephew, £120,000, the whole of his property, which, in case of the death of the latter without heirs, was to go to the government of the United States, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge.

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After the death of Mr. Smithson, which occurred in Genoa, June 27, 1829, and the death of the nephew of the testator without issue, which took place in 1835, thus giving the title to the bequest to the United States, the Honorable Richard Rush was sent to London to present the claim. In September, 1838, he deposited in the United States mint the proceeds in English sovereigns, which amounted to \$515,169. The subject was brought to the attention of Congress by the President, and in the session of 1846 an act was adopted, creating an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men, to consist of the President and Vice-President of the United States, the several members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Commissioner of the Patent Office, with such other persons as these may elect as honorary members of the institution. The act provided that the original fund should be lent in perpetuity to the Treasury of the United States, at 6 per cent., payable semi-annually; appropriated the interest from September 1, 1838, when the money was received, to July 1, 1846, amounting to \$242,120, or so much thereof as might be necessary, for the erection of buildings, and other current incidental expenses; that all expenditures and appropriations should in future be made exclusively from the accruing interest, and not from the principal of the fund. It was also provided that a board of managers should be constituted, under the name of "Regents of the Smithsonian Institution," to be composed of the Vice-President of the United States, the Chief Justice, the Mayor of Washington, three members of the Senate, and three of the House of Representatives, to be selected by the President and Speaker thereof, with six other persons, not members of Congress, of whom two shall be residents in the city of Washington, and the other four inhabitants of the United States, but no two of the same State. The last section of the act authorized the managers to dispose of such por-

tion of the interest of the fund as the act had not otherwise appropriated, in such manner as they shall deem best suited for the promotion of the purpose of the testator. The board of regents met and organized the establishment, and proceeded to elect a secretary to take charge of it, and to conduct it. An interesting discussion sprang up in regard to a suitable building to be erected, and plans from several architects which had been submitted were examined. Before the selection of either of the plans, it was thought best to elect the secretary, which resulted in the choice of Joseph Henry, an eminent physicist, at that time Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. His experiments were interesting, and his scientific discoveries were remarkable. In 1831, Professor Henry explained the applicability of the facts demonstrated by his experiments to the instantaneous conveyance of intelligence between distant points by means of a magnetic telegraph, several years before such a telegraph was brought into practical operation by Professor Morse. In the choice of a secretary, the Board could not have made a more fortunate selection. Professor Henry continued his investigations, and contributed largely to the advancement of science. He was a man of fine organization; his intellect, his character, his attainments, all constituted him an officer qualified for a satisfactory discharge of the duties of his important position. He held the place of secretary of the Smithsonian Institution till his death, which occurred in Washington, D. C., in May, 1878. I recall an interesting interview with him, in the reception room of Mrs. Hayes, in Washington, in 1877. I was standing and conversing with some gentleman, when Mrs. Hayes came to me and said she wished to present me to some one I ought to know, and she took me to another part of the room where Professor Henry stood, and brought us face to face. We both exclaimed to Mrs. Hayes that we were

old friends, having known each other for more than thirty years.

Of the three members appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives as regents of the Smithsonian Institution, at its first organization, I was one of the number, and took part in the interesting meeting to which I have just referred. Among the other members present were Honorable Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, and Honorable Rufus Choate, of Massachusetts. Having elected our secretary we proceeded to select a plan for the building. Professor Henry, who was present, advised the erection of a simple, inexpensive structure, upon an economical scale, suited to scientific investigations. Some of the board concurred with him in his view; but the majority of the regents decided that it was proper to erect a building of large proportions, impressive in its style, and suitable to the future of so important an institution, and we adopted the plans for a building submitted by Mr. Renwick, of New York, an eminent architect. The present building was constructed upon that plan; and the material selected, a red sandstone, is an illustration of the success of the board in the exercise of its duties. We then proceeded to discuss the plan upon which the institution should be conducted. Some of the regents agreed with Professor Henry that the fund should be appropriated for the investigation of scientific subjects exclusively, believing that that was the proper mode of carrying out the bequest of Mr. Smithson; others of the board believed that it was important to establish a library upon the largest plan, selecting books rare and expensive, and building up in the course of years an establishment unrivalled in any part of the world. Mr. Choate advocated this plan, and displayed his remarkable powers, impressing it upon the consideration of the board. It was replied that it would hardly answer Mr. Smithson's expectations simply to accumulate a great library, because, while it

might aid in the increase of knowledge, it certainly could do little towards diffusing it among men. I heard the debate with great interest, and offered a resolution as a compromise between the conflicting views of the eminent men about me, providing a division of the fund between the two objects; the resolution was adopted. Immediately Mr. Choate came to me, and with great warmth in his manner said: "Sir, you deserve a statue of marble for having settled the question in the way you have done." I thanked him for his generous appreciation of my action, and was gratified that I had contributed in any way to the advancement of the institution.

I continued to be a member of the board of regents during my entire service in Congress, feeling at all times the deepest interest in its success, and whenever I have visited Washington since, I have always found a warm welcome from the officers of the Smithsonian Institution.

In the course of the session Honorable Charles J. Ingersoll made a statement in regard to the use of the secret-service money by Mr. Webster while he held the position of Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet. On the 9th of April, two days after Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate in defence of the treaty of Washington, Mr. Ingersoll arose in the House and declared that freedom of speech had been grossly attacked, through him/by Mr. Webster. He intended, he said, to make no personal defence but wished to explain the object of some resolutions which he was about to offer.

The substance of the first resolution was that a call be made upon the Secretary of State (subsequently changed to the President) for an account of all payments made from the fund for contingent expenses on the President's certificates since March 4, 1841, with copies of all entries, receipts, letters, vouchers, and other evidences of payment, particularly all concerning the Northeastern Boundary; also a communication made by the Secretary of

State during the Twenty-seventh Congress to Mr. Cushing and Mr. Adams of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, regarding the desire of the President to institute a special mission to England ; and copies of any letters on the books of the State Department to any officer of the United States, or person in New York, concerning Alexander McLeod.

The second resolution called on the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for the minutes kept by that committee during the Twenty-seventh Congress. These minutes, Mr. Ingersoll said, would prove that Mr. Webster had lately denied the rightfulness of our claim in the Oregon dispute.

The documents called for in the first resolution would, he said, furnish proofs of Mr. Webster's "misdemeanors in office," his "fraudulent misapplication and personal use of the public funds," and his "corrupting party presses with the money appropriated by law for the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse." He applied severe terms to Mr. Webster, and spoke of him as having been removed from an office to which he was a disgrace. Mr. Ingersoll concluded with hinting at the impeachment of Mr. Webster as the result of all this enlightenment of the House.

An extended debate followed this extraordinary speech of Mr. Ingersoll.

Mr. Dromgoole made some remarks exonerating the Whig party from all responsibility in the case, and denounced Mr. Tyler's administration in severe terms.

Mr. Bayley opposed the resolutions upon the ground that a certain fund should be employed in secret service, and the whole utility of it would be destroyed by making its use a subject of investigation. No future minister would venture to employ it, nor would agents consent to perform the services necessary. The very nature and object of this service forbade any such prying into the employment of that fund.

I took part in the debate, and expressed my regret at the personal collision which had occurred between two so eminent members of Congress as Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Webster. It must have arisen from misconception and misunderstanding. I defended Mr. Webster's character, and declared that his services had contributed to the advancement of the interests and the glory of the country, that he was honored and loved abroad, and regarded as one of the most illustrious American statesmen that had appeared since Washington. I stated that I regarded the reputation of our statesmen as public property, and that, in my judgment, the friends of Mr. Webster should be the last to place any obstacle in the way of investigation into charges made against him.

Mr. Winthrop was of opinion that Mr. Webster had shown himself fully capable of defending himself; he only wished to say a word in defence of the honor and dignity of the House. A resolution ought not to be entertained which was offered by a man in a passion from the sting of severe rebuke. The charges were made in a spirit of anger and revenge. If true, why had they not been brought forward before? This was an attempt to blacken the character and fame of one whose name would live after others (whom he would not designate) were buried in merited oblivion; should they allow this proceeding in order to gratify a passion raised by personal rebuke?

Mr. Seddon thought that after the charges which had been made it was due to Mr. Webster himself that the investigation should be made, but it should be strictly limited to the object of ascertaining the foundation of the charges. His wish was to do justice to Mr. Webster.

Mr. Adams said that the secret-service fund was disbursed on the certificates of the President, and was frequently of great importance and not necessarily used for corrupt purposes. The Secretary of State was in no degree responsible for its use, and it did not necessarily

pass through his hands. The President alone had power to use this money, but might make the Secretary of State his agent in disbursing it. If any one was to be impeached for its misapplication, while Mr. Webster was Secretary of State, Mr. Tyler was the man. Any expenditure of the money by the Secretary of State could only be by his order, and it was accounted for by his certificate. No good could come from bringing to light the secret history of the Northeastern Boundary negotiation, or of the McLeod case; so far as charges against Mr. Webster were concerned there could be no objection, and they would no doubt go much farther towards justifying him than proving the charges. So far as concerned the secret-service fund the responsibility was wholly with the President.

Mr. Yancey said Mr. Adams had intimated that the House of Representatives had no authority over the fund devoted to the secret service, and therefore no right to institute these inquiries. Mr. Yancey differed with him; all appropriations of money, he said, belonged to the House, and it had the right to demand a full account of all expenditures. Every person intrusted with the public funds had been, and should be held to a rigid account. Mr. Ingersoll had accused Mr. Webster of a corrupt use of the public money, and called for evidence. This he had a perfect right to do; he (Mr. Yancey) did not agree with Mr. Adams that the President alone was responsible for the use of this fund. When the money passed into Mr. Webster's hands he became responsible for the use of it. Mr. Tyler could not be brought forward to shield Mr. Webster. Every officer was responsible for his own acts, and if these charges were proved Mr. Webster might be impeached by the House. Mr. Yancey, my colleague, was particularly offended by what he called my "fulsome eulogy" of Mr. Webster. He thought it outrageous to compare him with Washington. He knew

Mr. Webster only from history, and after what he learned of him there he should "loathe a political affinity with him." What was the foundation of this eulogy? What had he done to give him so much honor abroad? Was it for his conduct in the late war, when he refused to vote clothing and supplies for the soldiers, and did everything in his power to embarrass the government in its hour of peril? Was it for his course on the French question, when he declared that he would not vote a cent for defence if the enemy were battling down the walls of the Capitol? Was it the Ashburton treaty, when he gave away the land of the country, left murder unavenged, and the right of search unsettled? If Mr. Hilliard's eulogy was not for these things, what was it for? Was it because he acted now as a pensioned agent of the manufacturing interests of Massachusetts? He protested against the monstrous statement that Mr. Webster's name made the country honored and respected abroad. He had no doubt that Mr. Webster's name would live, but fame did not always depend on merit. Benedict Arnold was famous: "The daring youth that fired the Ephesian dome outlives in fame the pious fool that reared it." With regard to Mr. Webster's corruption, he had been charged with being the pensioned agent of the United States Bank and of Great Britain, and now he was charged with being the pensioned agent of the Manufacturers of Massachusetts. Mr. Yancey closed by reiterating his loathing of Mr. Webster's public character, and declaring that if not the wisest, he was the "meanest, basest of mankind." All acknowledged his intellectual power, but intellect when not united with integrity was worthy of no respect.

Others took part in the discussion, and in the course of it I reiterated my estimate of Mr. Webster's public services, and stated with emphasis that while he had not been compared with Washington, it was still true that he

ranked abroad as one of the most illustrious Americans who had ever appeared in the history of the country.

Some account of this appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, a great paper, published by Gales and Seaton, the organ of the Whig party, which gave offence to Mr. Yancey. On the morning it appeared I was seated at my desk, when a page brought me a note from Mr. Yancey, covering a slip from the *Intelligencer*, which gave an account of the debate between us. I give the note literally :

DEAR SIR : I find the following in the *Intelligencer's* report of yesterday's proceedings of the House : " A brief personal explanation then took place between Mr. Hilliard and Mr. Yancey in relation to a passage in the speech of the latter, as reported in the *Union*. Mr. Hilliard warmly disclaimed having said anything that could possibly derogate from the character of Washington, and complained of having, in that respect, been misrepresented by his colleague ; but after mutual explanations Mr. Yancey made such disclaimers as were entirely satisfactory to Mr. Hilliard, and the affair ended in the most friendly manner."

I desire to call your attention to it in a friendly spirit, and to know if it is correct.

Yours respectfully,

W. L. YANCEY.

House of Representatives, June 19th.

Upon receiving this note I walked over to Mr. Yancey's desk and took a seat by him. I said frankly : " Mr. Yancey, I have not had any interview with Mr. Stansbury (the reporter for the *Intelligencer*) in regard to any remarks made by either of us, but his account of the last debate between us is correct." Mr. Yancey did not dissent from my statement, but remarked : " Stansbury never liked me any way," or something of that sort. After a pleasant conversation I returned to my seat, and nothing followed the incident.

Some other remarks were made touching the subject, and Mr. Ingersoll's resolutions were adopted by a vote of one hundred and thirty-six to twenty-eight.

The message of President Polk in reply to Mr. Ingersoll's resolutions was received on the 20th of April; he gave some account of the fund for contingent expenses, a part of which was disbursed solely on the authority of the President, no evidence being required by the law except his certificate. Since 1810 this had been expended in pursuance of the provisions of the present law, and no inquiry had ever been made as to its use. The certificate of the President was in effect a solemn determination that the use of that money should remain secret, and there was great doubt whether his successor could be justified in making it public when there was no means of forming an adequate judgment of the propriety of the objects for which it had been employed. If he was authorized to answer this call he must answer all similar ones. It had never been attempted to make public the use of this fund, and he (the President) greatly apprehended the consequences of such a precedent, for it would entirely defeat its purpose. It was admitted to be a necessity that such resources should be used, and they must be used in secret service, and kept, therefore, from the public. "While this law exists in full force," said the President, "I feel bound by a high sense of public policy and duty to observe its provisions and the uniform practice of my predecessors under it." The papers relating to McLeod were submitted. Some further discussion took place in regard to certain points presented by Mr. Ingersoll, and Mr. Schenck then offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of five to ascertain how the seal of confidence had been broken with regard to the records and papers of the State Department, and how Mr. Ingersoll obtained the information which he claimed to have—whether by his own fancy or that of

others, and whose. Power to send for persons and papers was conferred. An amendment was offered proposing the appointment of a second committee, to inquire into the truth of Mr. Ingersoll's charges, with a view to found an impeachment against Mr. Webster, having power to send for persons, papers, books, and vouchers. The resolution with the amendment was adopted, and the two committees were appointed. The committees appointed to make these investigations did not report until the month of June. President Tyler came voluntarily from Virginia to vindicate Mr. Webster before the committee authorized to inquire into the use of the secret-service fund. This committee, after stating the result of their investigation, concluded their report in these words: "In their opinion there is no proof in relation to any of the charges to impeach Mr. Webster's integrity or the purity of his motives in the discharge of the duties of his office." This report was signed by Samuel F. Vinton, Jefferson Davis, Daniel P. King, and Seaborn Jones. Mr. Brinckerhoff presented a minority report, making some statement as to the amount involved. Both reports were laid on the table and ordered to be printed. Nothing came of this matter which is necessary to notice, or which possesses any sort of interest for the public.

Some days later Mr. Ingersoll, seated by my side, expressed his regret at having fallen into an error in his statement as to Mr. Webster's course, and said that he was disposed to address a note to that gentleman, and would do so promptly if he could be assured as to the manner in which it would be received by him; and he requested me to have an interview with Mr. Webster in regard to the matter. I said to Mr. Ingersoll that I would cheerfully see Mr. Webster, and ascertain his views in regard to the subject. I walked over to the Senate-chamber and had an interview with Mr. Webster, in which I stated that Mr. Ingersoll was ready to address a note to him

expressing his regret as to the statement made by him in the House in regard to Mr. Webster's course while Secretary of State, if he could be assured that it would be received kindly and replied to in friendly terms. Mr. Webster said: "Mr. Hilliard, if Mr. Ingersoll should think proper to address a note to me upon that subject I will receive it, but I must decline to commit myself in advance as to the manner in which it will be treated by me; Mr. Ingersoll must trust entirely to my generosity." After some brief conversation with Mr. Webster I returned to my seat in the House and reported to Mr. Ingersoll what had occurred. He declined to send the note, and expressed his regret at Mr. Webster's hesitation to meet his advance in a friendly way. In the course of a few days Mr. Webster delivered in the Senate a speech in vindication of his course while holding the office of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Mr. Tyler, in which he treated Mr. Ingersoll's statements in regard to himself with extreme severity, denouncing that gentleman in very strong terms personally. The next day Mr. Ingersoll, who seemed to be greatly angered, said to me that he would challenge Mr. Webster, and that if he refused to meet him he would pursue him with pistols to Boston. Nothing occurred as the result of this incident. The relations of the two gentlemen remained unchanged.

11





CHAPTER XVIII.

Second Session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress—President's Message—Vigorous Prosecution of the War Recommended—General Taylor's Victories—Monterey—General Scott, Commander-in-Chief—The Battle of Buena Vista—General Scott's Expedition against Vera Cruz and the Capture of that City—The President Recommends to Congress the Appointment of a Lieutenant-General—Action of the House and of the Senate in Regard to this Recommendation—General Proceedings of Congress.

CONGRESS assembled at the regular period, the first Monday in December. The President's message was communicated to both houses, and dwelt largely upon the war with Mexico, and expressed great gratification at the success of our arms under General Taylor. Soon after the adjournment of the first session of Congress General Taylor proceeded to attack Monterey. In September, being reinforced, his command numbering now upwards of six thousand men, mostly volunteers, he took a position in the immediate neighborhood of Monterey and made his arrangements for an early assault upon it. The city was strongly fortified and occupied by General Ampudia with some ten thousand regular troops. Monterey is situated in the midst of lofty mountains on three sides and an open valley on the other, and was not only fortified with thick stone walls, in the old Spanish style, with ditches and bastions bristling with cannon, but the flat-roofed houses were all converted into fortifications, every street was barricaded, and every house was provided with veteran troops armed with musketry. On

one side was the bishop's palace, an extremely strong and well fortified fort on the other, with redoubts, and in the rear a river. Besides its garrison of ten thousand men it contained a population of fifteen thousand, which could supply nearly three thousand volunteers. The Mexican force was in reality about thirteen thousand men for its defence, while the force of General Taylor was less than seven thousand men, a great inequality against the Americans. It will be seen then that the American force under General Taylor was about to attack a city which seemed to defy assault from even an equal force, but General Taylor, disregarding the overwhelming disadvantage which he had to fight against, proceeded to assault the city. After several days of desperate fighting Ampudia capitulated, and General Taylor took possession of the city. He established his headquarters at Monterey, but without loss of time proceeded to prepare for an advance and sent a strong detachment to Saltillo, a most important point. He was about to march upon San Luis Potosi, when an order was received by him from the War Department, transferring a large part of his force to the reinforcement of General Scott, who was fitting out an expedition against Vera Cruz.

General Scott had been appointed by the President commander-in-chief of the army. General Taylor was left with barely five thousand men, nearly all of whom were volunteers who had never seen a battle.

Upon receiving orders to repair to Mexico, General Scott wrote a letter to his old friend, General Taylor, dated New York, November 23, 1846, in which he assures him of his strong desire to meet him in person, that he felicitated him upon his many brilliant achievements, but would not be able to see him at that time. He says :

" I am not coming, my dear General, to supersede you in the immediate command on the line of operations rendered illus-

trious by you and your gallant army. My proposed theatre is different. You may imagine it ; and I wish very much that it were prudent at this distance to tell you all that I expect to attempt or hope to execute. . . . But, my dear General, I shall be obliged to take from you most of the gallant officers and men (regulars and volunteers) whom you have so long and so nobly commanded. I am afraid that I shall, by imperious necessity—the approach of yellow fever on the Gulf coast—reduce you, for a time, to stand on the defensive. This will be infinitely painful to you, and for that reason distressing to me. But I rely upon your patriotism to submit to the temporary sacrifice with cheerfulness. No man can better afford to do so. Recent victories place you on the high eminence ; and I even flatter myself that any benefit that may result to me personally from the unequal division of troops alluded to will lessen the pain of your consequent inactivity.”

General Scott, in withdrawing so large a number of General Taylor's forces from him, was but carrying out the wishes of the administration. General Taylor continued at Victoria, to which he had proceeded, until about the last of January, 1847, when he returned to Monterey. His force now consisted of volunteers, with the exception of about four hundred and fifty regular troops, including Colonel May's dragoons. In the beginning of February he was reinforced by new volunteers, which increased his army to about six thousand men. With this small troop, composed mostly of men who had never faced an enemy, General Taylor had to garrison Monterey and hold in check the overwhelming army of Santa Anna, then advancing upon him. Immediately after arriving at Monterey, General Taylor received information that a party of observation, consisting of about one hundred picked men, under Colonel May, had been surprised at Encarnacion while attempting to gain some intelligence of the enemy, and that Captain Cassius M. Clay and Major Borland and Major Gaines had been taken prisoners by a Mexican force,

under General Minon, of fifteen hundred men. This intelligence, together with the belief that Santa Anna might make an attempt to reconquer some of the possessions between Monterey and the Rio Grande, and thus cut off his communication with Matamoras, determined General Taylor to march at once to Saltillo with the view to give him battle. He accordingly took up his march from Monterey on the 31st of January, leaving a force of about fifteen hundred men to garrison that city, and arrived at Saltillo on the 2d of February. He had been reinforced in the meantime by the arrival of five hundred more volunteers, which made the effective force under his command five thousand strong. Two days after he marched to Agua Nueva, a strong position twenty miles from Saltillo on the San Luis side of that city, and encamped there for the purpose of disciplining his troops and to observe the movements of the enemy. Here he remained until the 21st of February, examining the situation of the country, the passes through the mountains, and the best point at which to await an attack from Santa Anna. On the 21st information was brought him that Santa Anna was advancing at the head of his whole army and was then within a short distance. Believing Buena Vista, a point twelve miles nearer to Saltillo, and eight miles from that city, to be a much more favorable position at which to make a stand against such overwhelming odds, he fell back to that place and formed his army in order of battle, and calmly awaited the approach of the enemy. Nothing could illustrate General Taylor's great qualities more clearly than his decision to stand in that mountain pass with his small force awaiting the attack of Santa Anna with twenty thousand disciplined troops. He estimated the full extent of his danger, he felt the magnitude of his responsibility, but, undaunted by what confronted him, he determined to make a stand. Comprehending his surroundings and all that they involved, he wrote to a

friend the evening before the battle and expressed the sentiments which filled his heart :

“ This may be the last communication you will receive from me. I have been stripped by the government of regular troops, and reduced in volunteers, and thus stripped and at the mercy of the foe I have been expected by my country to retreat or resign. I care not for myself, but I feel deeply for the noble soldiers about to be sacrificed by their country. I shall stand and give them battle, relying on a just Providence for a right result.”

He would neither retreat nor resign ; he would fight. There flashed forth a great spirit ; the battle came ; the odds were fearful, but who could doubt the result when American troops stood in that modern Thermopylæ, and in the presence of such a leader ? It was in vain that the Mexican artillery played upon their ranks, or Mexican infantry bore down with the bayonet, or Mexican lancers charged. The spirit of the great leader pervaded the men who fought with him, and a single glance of his eye could re-animate a wavering column. Like Napoleon at the Danube he held his men under fire, because he was exposed to it himself ; and like him, wherever he rode along the lines, mounted on a white charger, a conspicuous mark for balls, men would stand and be shot down, but they would not give way. Of General Taylor on that day it may be said, as it has been said of Lannes at Montebello : “ He was the rock of that battle-field, around which men stood with a tenacity that nothing could move. If he had fallen, in five minutes that battle would have been a rout.” That battle closed General Taylor’s military career, and that battle alone gives him a title to immortality.

Early on the 22d of February the clouds of dust told that the Mexican army was on the advance. The long roll of the drum summoned the men to the field, and regiments were formed and artillery posted, and every

possible advantage taken of the ground. The leading columns of the enemy were seen at a distance of two miles, steadily advancing in the most perfect order. Some two thousand lancers with the artillery, fourteen pieces, of different calibre, from twenty-fours down, composed the leading division, and then a host of infantry and lances came into view and filed into position. The morning was fine, and the sun glancing on the lances and bayonets of the twenty-one thousand men, the rattling of their artillery and carriages, the treading of their richly caparisoned horses, and the continued sound of their bugles, constituted the most impressive spectacle. General Taylor had made such a disposition of his force as would enable him to receive the attack of the enemy in a way to deprive the overwhelming army of Santa Anna of many of the advantages it would have possessed if the engagement had taken place upon the plain. On his right was a deep ravine, impracticable to be turned by cavalry or artillery, while on the left the mountains of Sierra Madre towered two thousand feet in height. The spur of continuous hills running from the mountains nearly to the ravine was occupied by the American troops, while the space between the spur of hills and the ravine, over which the San Luis road runs, was occupied by five pieces of light artillery, commanded by Captain Washington, overlooking Washington's battery and within near musket-shot, on a high hill, on the crown of which the First Regiment of Illinois Volunteers was posted to cover the battery and protect the centre. As soon as he received intelligence of Santa Anna's approach, General Taylor moved forward with May's squadron of dragoons; Sherman's and Bragg's battalions of artillery and the Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Jefferson Davis, arrived at the position which he had selected for awaiting the attack of the enemy.

In the choice of his position General Taylor exhibited the same sagacity which characterized his dispositions at

Resaca de la Palma, and which crowned triumphantly all his operations at Monterey. Mountains rose on either side of an irregular unbroken valley, about three miles in width, dotted over with hills, ridges, and intersected with broad and winding ravines. The main road ran along the course of an *arroyo*, the bed of which was so deep as to form an almost impassable barrier, while the other side was bounded by precipitous elevations stretching perpendicularly towards the mountain, and separated by gullies until they mingled into one at the base of the principal range. On the right of the narrowest point of the roadway a battalion of the First Illinois regiment under Colonel Weatherford was stationed in a small trench, extending to the ravine, while on the opposite height the main body of the regiment under Colonel Hardin was posted, with a single piece of artillery from Captain Washington's battery. The post of honor, on the extreme right, was assigned to Bragg's artillery, his left supported by the Second regiment of Kentucky, afterwards under McKee, left flank of which rested upon the *arroyo*. Washington's battery occupied a position immediately in front of the narrow point of the roadway, in the rear of which, and somewhat to the left, on another height, the Second Illinois regiment under Colonel Bissel was posted. Next, on the left, the Indiana brigade, under General Lane, was deployed, while on the extreme left the Kentucky cavalry under Colonel Marshall occupied a position directly under the summits of the mountains. The two squadrons of First and Second Dragoons, and the Arkansas cavalry, under Colonel Yell, were posted in the rear, ready for any service which the exigencies of the day might require. Some time after these dispositions had been made clouds of dust were seen to roll up as the enemy advanced, and showed that his numbers were immense. At this moment the presence of Santa Anna was indicated by a white flag which was seen floating in the

breeze, and presently Surgeon Lindenberg, of the Mexican army, arrived, bearing a note from his commander-in-chief. It was a missive addressed to General Taylor, demanding from him terms of unconditional surrender, promising good treatment, assuring him that his force amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men; that the defeat of the Americans was inevitable, and suggested that to spare effusion of blood, his proposition should be complied with. The messenger was received by General Taylor, who, with his secretary, Colonel Bliss, took him to a point where they could hold a conversation. Upon the contents of the note being read to General Taylor, he was scarcely able to repress his indignation, and expressed himself in strong terms. Colonel Bliss was instructed to decline emphatically the invitation of Santa Anna, in terms which Colonel Bliss did not write. He wrote, instead of giving it literally, these words: "General Taylor never surrenders." The messenger returned to the Mexican commander-in-chief and delivered the message. Hours rolled by without any movements on the part of the enemy, but at length the fire was opened from a mortar throwing several shells into the American camp without execution. The Kentucky cavalry and Arkansas troops were posted near the mountain, and as skirmishers, having been first dismounted, brought on the action at half-past four o'clock on the 22d, by engaging about fifteen hundred of the enemy's light troops, who had been deployed on the top of the mountain to turn the American left. The American riflemen advanced to the side of the mountain, extending their line to prevent the enemy from flanking them, and fighting as they toiled up the almost perpendicular ascent, until the whole side of the mountain, from the base to the summit, was a sheet of fire. The firing continued until after dark, when our riflemen retired, the enemy remaining in possession of the heights. General Taylor's army slept on

their arms, and awaited the renewal of the battle on the next day. The first gun on the 23d was fired at daylight, and the firing continued until darkness put an end to the engagement. I do not propose to give a full account of the great battle which followed, but only to present some of its most striking features. Our regiments, advancing to attack five times their numbers, succeeded at times in driving them with great loss, until the enemy, reinforced by fresh troops, rallied, and advancing with overwhelming numbers, compelled our forces to fall back. Throughout the varying fortunes of the day the utmost heroism was displayed by our troops, and it required the presence of General Taylor at several points to arrest the advance of the enemy. He was at times under the hottest fire of the enemy; the breast of his coat was pierced by a canister shot, when he remarked coolly: "These balls are growing excited." His horse, "Old Whitey," was once or twice wounded, but bore General Taylor through all the fatigues and perils of the day.

At one time in the course of the battle the Mexican infantry advanced in three columns, composed of eight regiments, and opened a terrific fire upon the American force. A regiment awaiting their advance was ordered to open upon them, and for thirty minutes poured into them as galling a fire as ever was witnessed, our troops discharging their pieces not less than twenty times within point-blank. Here we had about sixty officers and men killed and wounded; a part of a supporting regiment having given way, the Mexican lancers crossed the ravine and came down on our left flank, when the American troops fell back some hundred and fifty yards, where they rallied, halted, and formed again.

The Second Kentucky, commanded by Colonel McKee, was ordered up, as well as Colonel Hardin's First Illinoisians. Colonel Hardin, with his gallant regiment, advanced upon the Mexicans and drove them back. By

the time the Second Kentucky came up, the regiment which had borne the fierce attack of the immense mass of Mexican troops rallied, and the combined force made a magnificent charge, driving back four times their number, killing and wounding an immense number of the enemy, and capturing the standard of the battalion of Cuanahuoto. The battle continued to rage, and the artillery was advanced ; its front, extended at different sections, and pieces under Sherman, Bragg, O'Brien, and other officers, were working such carnage in the ranks of the enemy as to make his columns reel. Washington's battery on the right had now opened its fire and driven back a large party of lancers advancing in that direction. Along the entire line the battle raged with great fury. The myriads of Mexican cavalry still pressed forward on Taylor's left and threatened a charge upon the Mississippi Rifles, under Colonel Davis, who immediately threw his command into the form of a V, the opening toward the enemy, and waited his advance. On came the Mexican lancers, dashing with all the speed of Mexican horses, but when they were at a point from which their eyes could be seen, both lines poured forth a sheet of lead that scattered them like chaff, killing many horses and emptying the saddles of their riders. While the dispersed Mexican cavalry were rallying, the Third Indiana regiment, under Colonel Lane, was ordered to join Colonel Davis, supported by a considerable body of horse. The Mexican cavalry, observing about this time our wagon-train, which displayed its length along the Saltillo road, made an attack upon it, but General Taylor, observing it, ordered our cavalry, led by May's dragoons, with squadrons of cavalry, to attack them, who dashed upon them in the most brilliant style, and effectually dispersed them. Some time later an immense body of Mexican troops advanced upon our artillery, which, left unsupported, its capture by the enemy seemed inevitable ; overwhelming numbers were

driving back several regiments, who, with their gallant colonels, were still resisting them ; and at this moment three of our splendid officers fell at the head of their commands—John J. Hardin, Colonel McKee, and Lieut.-Col. Henry Clay. But at this crisis Bragg and Thomas distinguished themselves, winning fame, surpassing that which they acquired at Monterey, while Sherman, O'Brien, and Bryan proved themselves worthy of the alliance. Every horse with O'Brien's battery was killed, and the enemy had advanced to within range of grape, sweeping all before him. General Taylor describes this scene in his report to the Secretary of War :

“In the meantime the firing had partially ceased upon the principal field. The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery. I had left the plateau for a moment when I was recalled thither by a very heavy musketry fire. On regaining that position I discovered that our infantry (Illinois and Second Kentucky) had engaged a greatly superior force of the enemy (evidently his reserve), and that they had been overwhelmed by numbers. The moment was most critical. Captain O'Brien with two pieces had sustained this heavy charge to the last, but was finally obliged to leave his guns on the field, his infantry being entirely routed. Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was ordered at once into battery ; without any infantry to support him, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, this officer came rapidly into action, the Mexican lines being but a few yards from the muzzles of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate, the second and the third drove him back in disorder, and saved the day. The Second Kentucky regiment, which had advanced beyond supporting distance in this affair, was driven back, and closely pressed by the enemy's cavalry. Taking a ravine which led in the direction of Captain Washington's battery, their pursuers became exposed to his fire, which soon checked and drove them back with loss. In the meantime the rest of our artillery had taken position on the plateau covered by the Mississippi and Third Indiana regi-

ments, the former of which had reached the ground in time to pour fire into the right flank of the enemy, and thus contribute to his repulse. In this last conflict we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss ; Col. Hardin, First Illinois, Col. McKee, and Lieutenant-Col. Clay, Second Kentucky regiment, fell at this time while gallantly leading their commands. No further attempt was made by the enemy to force our position, and the approach of night gave an opportunity to pay proper attention to the wounded, and also to refresh the soldiers who had been exhausted by incessant watchfulness and combat. Though the night was severely cold the troops were compelled for the most to bivouac without fires, expecting that morning would renew the conflict. During the night the wounded were removed to Saltillo and every preparation made to receive the enemy should he again attack our position. Seven fresh companies were drawn from the town, and Brigadier-General Marshall, with a reinforcement of Kentucky cavalry, and four heavy guns under Captain Prentice, First Cavalry, was near at hand, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned his position during the night. Our scouts soon ascertained that he had fallen back upon Agua Nueva. . . . The American force engaged in the action of Buena Vista is shown by the accompanying field report to have been 334 officers, and 4,425 men, exclusive of the small command left in and near Saltillo. Of this number two squadrons of cavalry and three batteries of light artillery, making not more than 453 men, composed the only force of regular troops. The strength of the Mexican army is stated by General Santa Anna in his summons to be twenty thousand ; and that estimate is confirmed by all the information since obtained. . . . Our loss has been especially severe in officers, twenty-eight having been killed upon the field. I perform a grateful duty in bringing to the notice of the government the general good-conduct of the troops. . . . The services of the light artillery, always conspicuous, were more than usually distinguished. Moving rapidly over the roughest ground it was always in action at the right place and the right time, and its well-directed fire dealt destruction in the masses of the enemy. While I recommend

to particular favor the gallant conduct and valuable services of Major Munroe, Chief of Artillery, and Captains Washington, Fourth Artillery, and Sherman and Bragg, Third Artillery, commanding batteries, I deem it no more than just to mention the subordinate officers. . . . The Mississippi riflemen under Col. Davis were highly conspicuous for their gallantry and steadiness, and sustained throughout the engagement the reputation of veteran troops. Brought into action against an immensely superior force they maintained themselves for a long time unsupported, and with heavy loss, and held an important part of the field until reinforced. Colonel Davis was severely wounded, but remained in the saddle until the close of the action. His distinguished coolness and gallantry at the head of his regiment on this day entitled him to a particular notice of the government.

This brilliant victory of General Taylor not only roused the enthusiasm of our own people throughout the nation, but it attracted notice from the leading military men of other countries. There are strong points of resemblance between the battle of Buena Vista and that of Agincourt, where the English troops under Henry V. won a great victory against overwhelming numbers on the plains of France. Some short time after the account of General Taylor's victory reached Washington, I was writing a paper for publication, pointing out the resemblance between the great battle which he had won and that of Agincourt, when, meeting Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the English Minister—who had just returned from New York, where he had made a speech at a dinner given by the New England Society in that city, in which he had stated his own idea in glowing terms as to that fact,—I said to him: "Sir Henry, you have anticipated, in your speech in New York, what I was about to say in a paper which I am writing, pointing out the strong lines of resemblance between the battle of Buena Vista and that of Agincourt." "Well, Mr. Hilliard," he replied, play-

fully, "it is another instance of fine minds thinking alike." I was gratified in having my own impressions approved by the observation of so distinguished a gentleman. In Shakespeare's "King Henry V." a scene is described as occurring in an English camp at Agincourt, which may enable us to understand the emotions of General Taylor when he looked over the small force with which he was about to receive the attack of overwhelming numbers.

Westmoreland exclaims :

"O that we now had here

[Enter KING HENRY.

But one ten thousand of those men in England
That do no work to-day !

"*K. Hen.* What 's he that wishes so ?

My cousin Westmoreland ?—No, my fair cousin :

If we are mark'd to die, we are enow

To do our country loss ; and if to live,

The fewer men the greater share of honor.

God's will ! I pray thee, wish not one man more."

Some time after General Taylor's return to the country and his election to the presidency, I held a conversation with him in the White House, in which he expressed to me in terms of perfect frankness his own view of the surroundings at Buena Vista ; and the night before the battle occurred, he said :

"I comprehended the danger of the situation, and wrote two letters, one to a friend at home, and another to my wife. In them I stated that it might be the last communication they would ever receive from me ; a battle was about to open where I should have to meet overwhelming numbers, but that my sense of duty did not permit me to avoid it, and that I had made up my mind to stand. I felt when I went into action the next day that I fought with a rope about my neck."

The conduct of the war was now assumed by General Scott, commanding-in-chief. On March 9, 1847, he landed

near Vera Cruz with about twelve thousand men ; that city was immediately besieged, and before the end of the month it was surrendered. General Scott advanced, and, after a series of hard-fought, brilliant, and successful battles, entered the city of Mexico on the 14th day of September. General Scott with his army occupied the Mexican capital until after the ratification of the treaty of peace, which was negotiated at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, by Honorable Nicholas P. Trist, on the part of the United States.

A message was received from the President recommending the appointment of a lieutenant-general to take command of the whole army of the United States, and it was understood that Mr. Benton, the United States Senator from Missouri, was to be named for that important place. The bill for the creation of the office passed the House of Representatives, but was defeated in the Senate. It was understood that three of President Polk's Cabinet Ministers were opposed to the measure—Mr. Marcy, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Buchanan throwing the full weight of their influence against it.

A protracted and heated debate arose in the Senate, growing out of the resolutions introduced by Mr. Calhoun on the 19th of February, asserting in clear and comprehensive terms the following propositions: That the territories of the United States belonged to the several States composing this Union, and are held by them as their joint and common property; and that Congress has no power to prohibit slavery in a territory; and that the exercise of such a power would be a breach of the Constitution, and leading to the subversion of the Union.

Mr. Calhoun made a speech in support of his resolutions, asserting that the slave-holding States should support them by their action, in the event that the Senate should not sustain them. Mr. Calhoun said :

"It is a question for our constituent slave-holding States. A solemn and a great question. If the decision should be adverse, I trust, and do believe, that they will take under consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I am speaking as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are my hopes. There are my family and connections. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a Southern man—and a slave-holder; a kind and merciful one I trust—and none the worse for being a slave-holder. I say for one that I would rather meet any extremity on earth than give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us as members of this great republic. What, acknowledge inferiority! The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowledged inferiority.

"I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future if we do not stand up as we ought. In my humble opinion, in that case the condition of Ireland is happy, the condition of Hindostan is prosperous and happy, the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the Southern States will be if they do not now stand up manfully in defence of their rights."

When these resolutions were read Mr. Benton rose in his place and called them "firebrand." Mr. Calhoun said he had expected the support of Mr. Benton, "as a representative of a slave-holding State." Mr. Benton answered that it was impossible that he could have expected such a thing. Then, said Mr. Calhoun, "I shall know where to find the gentleman." To which Mr. Benton replied: "I shall be found in the right place—on the side of my country and the Union.

Mr. Calhoun demanded the prompt consideration of his resolutions; giving notice that he would call them up the next day and press them to a speedy and final vote. He did call them up, but never called for the vote; nor was any ever had. The condition had not happened on which

they were to be taken up by the slave States ; but they were sent out to all such States, and adopted by some of them. A great slavery agitation followed, founded upon the proposition of "No power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in the territories," which led later to momentous results. The slavery agitation throughout the United States rose, and before a great while a great sectional antagonism resulted from it. The Wilmot proviso still hung over the South as a menace, and the action of some of the Northern States, repealing the slave-sojournment law within their limits and obstructing the recovery of fugitive slaves, displayed the animus of the leaders of the anti-slavery sentiment against the institution of slavery.

Before the adjournment of Congress an incident occurred of unusual interest, growing out of hot words spoken by two members of the House of Representatives in a debate upon some question touching the action of the administration. General Bayley, of Virginia, a leading Democrat and a gentleman of great ability, in a discussion with Hon. Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, uttered some words of marked discourtesy, to which the gentleman from Kentucky made a brief reply and took his seat. Mr. Davis was well known not only as a man of ability but of high spirit, and it was supposed something serious might grow out of the collision in debate. After the adjournment of the House Mr. Davis saw Senator Barrow, of Louisiana, and induced him to bear a message to General Bayley, inviting that gentleman to meet him at Baltimore for an explanation of his offensive words. Senator Barrow, in the course of the evening, called at the residence of Mrs. Wise, where General Bayley had apartments, and delivered Mr. Davis' note. General Bayley stated that he would send a friend to Senator Barrow with a reply to his communication. General Bayley invited Honorable Mr. Seddon, one of his colleagues from Vir-

ginia, to call at his apartments. He did so, and General Bayley informed him of what had occurred, and requested him to bear his reply to the note of Mr. Davis, accepting the invitation to meet that gentleman. It seems that Mrs. Bayley overheard this conversation, which startled and distressed her to such a degree that, without consultation with General Bayley, she came immediately to call on me at my apartments, in Mrs. Latimer's house, President's Square. In my interview with her she entreated me to save her husband, stating that he was about to meet Mr. Davis to arrange the terms of a duel. I assured Mrs. Bayley of my readiness to serve her if I could do so, but I explained that I did not see how I could intervene to prevent a meeting between the gentlemen. Her emotion was uncontrollable, and she reiterated to me, in language showing her deep distress, the request that I would take some step to prevent General Bayley's engaging in a duel with Mr. Davis. I explained to her that there was but one thing to be done, that, yielding to her entreaty, I should proceed to have General Bayley arrested and put under a bond to keep the peace. I promptly sent for an officer of police to come to my house, and instructed him to arrest General Bayley upon my statement that he was about to leave the city to arrange for a hostile meeting with Mr. Davis. I accompanied the officer to General Bayley's residence, who was greatly surprised at our intrusion, but who consented to give himself up, and we proceeded to the police office, where General Bayley made his bond, upon which I placed my name also. Meanwhile a rumor of what had occurred reached Mr. Davis. He, with Senator Barrow, and Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, who was about to accompany his friend, Mr. Davis, to Baltimore, found that to obtain seats in the train about to leave for Baltimore they would have to make a detour of a mile or two around the station, which they did and arrived in Baltimore. Mr. Davis and his

friends were promptly informed of the detention of General Bayley, and were about to return to Washington when Senator Barrow was taken seriously ill, and in the course of a day or two died. His disease resulted, it is supposed, from exposure on the night of his departure from Washington.

This sad occurrence, of course, terminated the affair, and was deeply regretted by all parties. Mr. Benton in the Senate, and Mr. Hannegan, with others, delivered appropriate and touching eulogies over the dead senator, and his death was also noticed in the House in terms which showed the great respect with which he was regarded by Congress, and by all who knew him.

Congress, after a prolonged and important session, adjourned.





CHAPTER XIX.

Re-election to Congress—Opening of the Session—Organization of the House of Representatives—Mr. Winthrop Elected Speaker—Abraham Lincoln Takes his Seat in the House—New Members of the Senate—President's Message—Death of Mr. Adams—Circumstances Attending it.—Marks of Respect to his Memory—Treaty of Peace with Mexico—General Taylor's Return Home—Nomination to the Presidency.

AFTER the adjournment of Congress I returned to Alabama and was warmly welcomed by my friends. In the course of a few weeks I was nominated by a Whig convention for re-election and accepted the nomination. The Democratic party brought out no opposing candidate, and I had the satisfaction of being elected to represent the people of the whole district without regard to party lines.

The opening of the session of Congress in December presented some features of unusual interest, some members of both houses having disappeared and others having been elected to take their places.

The House of Representatives was organized by the election of the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, as Speaker, the House having a Whig majority.

Mr. Winthrop was eminently qualified to fill the important position to which he was chosen; his personal appearance was impressive, tall, with a face expressive of intellect and character, and with a bearing that would have distinguished him in any assembly; his attainments were large; he was a statesman and a scholar, and his accomplishments made him a very pleasing person in

social life; his election was received with great satisfaction throughout the country; a Northern man but with a breadth of view and a liberality of sentiment that inspired confidence everywhere.

Among the new members of the House there was one who not only attracted attention at the time but rose to great distinction in the country afterwards—Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

In the Senate, Mr. Dallas, the Vice-President, presided with his accustomed dignity, his appearance imparting a charm to the position which he filled. Several new senators appeared, among them was Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. He had recently returned from Mexico, where he had rendered such important services in the army and had won great distinction.

Mr. Stephen A. Douglas had been elected to the Senate from Illinois, and his distinguished services in the House made him at once a conspicuous senator.

Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, who had won great distinction in the House of Representatives by his services, and having been at one time Speaker of the House, had been elected as a senator from Virginia.

President Polk's message, which was promptly delivered to both Houses, recommended several subjects for consideration, but treated chiefly of the military events which had occurred in Mexico. He spoke in glowing terms of the brilliant victories which had been won by our arms, and urged still a vigorous prosecution of the war. General Winfield Scott occupied the city of Mexico with his splendid army and was a conspicuous figure at home and abroad. The President referred to the triumphs of our arms under both the great military commanders, General Taylor and General Scott, and made some suggestions as to the policy of conducting the war with a view to securing certain advantages upon the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Mexico.

In the course of a few weeks an important and sad event occurred—the death of Honorable John Quincy Adams. The circumstances attending it were remarkable. On the 21st February, a resolution had been offered by a Whig member of the House expressing appreciation of the services of General Winfield Scott and tendering him the thanks of Congress; immediately a Democratic member moved to amend the resolution by inserting the name of General Gideon Pillow, and also moved the previous question, which of course cut off debate. It was well known that General Pillow had been appointed by the President to his position in General Scott's army, and had conducted himself in a way so offensive to that commander as to make himself an object of criticism, and at length he was ordered to appear before a court-martial for trial. The clerk was proceeding to call the roll when I rose from my seat and walked to the desk of Mr. Adams to pay my respects to him; I had just returned from a visit to Alabama, where I had been called to argue a cause before the Supreme Court, at Montgomery, and my relations with Mr. Adams made it proper that on the first day I entered the House after my return I should call and speak to him. After exchanging a word or two with Mr. Adams he said: "Mr. Hilliard, is not General Pillow under arrest at this time?" I replied that it was understood that he had been ordered before a court-martial on charges preferred against him as an officer. "And yet," said Mr. Adams, "they propose to include his name in a resolution giving the thanks of Congress to General Scott. Of course the previous question cuts off debate, and I cannot address myself to the House, but when the call is ended I shall rise and ask the Speaker if General Pillow is not ordered before a court-martial for investigation of his conduct in Mexico." I saw that Mr. Adams was much excited, and I returned to my seat to observe the result.

The National Intelligencer accurately describes what occurred :

“ Just after the yeas and nays were taken on a question, and the Speaker had risen to put another question to the House, a sudden cry was heard on the left of the chair. ‘ Mr. Adams is dying ! ’ Turning our eyes to the spot, we beheld the venerable man in the act of falling over the left arm of his chair, while his right arm was extended, grasping his desk for support. He would have dropped upon the floor had he not been caught in the arms of the member sitting next to him. A great sensation was created in the House ; members from all quarters rushing from their seats and gathering round the fallen statesman, who was immediately lifted into the area in front of the clerk’s table. The Speaker instantly suggested that some gentleman move an adjournment, which being promptly done, the House adjourned. A sofa was brought, and Mr. Adams, in a state of perfect helplessness, though not of entire insensibility, was gently laid upon it. The sofa was then taken up and borne out of the Hall into the Rotunda, where it was set down, and the members of both houses and strangers, who were fast crowding around, were with some difficulty repressed, and an open space cleared in its immediate vicinity ; but a medical gentleman, a member of the House (who was prompt, active, and self-possessed throughout the whole painful scene), advised that he be removed to the door of the Rotunda, opening on the east portico, where a fresh wind was blowing. This was done ; but the air being chilly and loaded with vapor, the sofa was, at the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop, once more taken up and removed to the Speaker’s apartment, the doors of which were forthwith closed to all but professional gentlemen and particular friends. While lying in this apartment, Mr. Adams partially recovered the use of his speech, and observed, in faltering accents : ‘ This is the end of earth ’ ; but quickly added : ‘ I am composed.’ Members had by this time reached Mr. A.’s abode with the melancholy intelligence, and soon after Mrs. Adams and his nephew and niece arrived and made their way to the appalling scene.

Mrs. A. was deeply affected, and for some moments quite prostrated by the sight of her husband, now insensible, the pallor of death upon his countenance, those sad premonitories fast making their appearance, which fall with such a chill upon the heart."

Soon after being taken into the Speaker's room, Mr. Adams sank into a state of apparent insensibility, gradually growing weaker and weaker, until, on Wednesday evening, February 23d, at a quarter past 7 o'clock, he expired without a struggle.

While he was lying in the Speaker's room, all business was suspended in the Capitol. On Tuesday morning the House came together at the usual hour. The Speaker, on taking the chair, announced in a feeling manner that his venerable colleague was still lingering in a state of insensibility in the adjoining apartment; whereupon the House, in solemn stillness, immediately adjourned. The same thing occurred on the following morning. The Senate also and the Supreme Court testified their grief by suspending all business.

At the usual hour of meeting of the two houses of Congress, on Thursday, February 24th, a full attendance of members and crowded audiences attested the deep interest of the occasion which called the two houses to offer public testimonials of their profound respect for the memory of the Honorable John Quincy Adams, who breathed his last on the preceding evening, and whose mortal remains yet lay within the walls of the Capitol.

In the House of Representatives, as soon as the House was called to order, the Speaker (Honorable Robert C. Winthrop) rose and paid a feeling and affecting tribute to the memory of Mr. Adams.

When the Speaker concluded, Mr. Hudson, of Massachusetts, rose, and after making some appropriate remarks, moved several resolutions, expressing the deep sensibility of the House upon the occasion of the death of Mr.

Adams, and moved that a committee of thirty be appointed to superintend the funeral obsequies.

Several other members of the House rose in their places and paid eloquent and touching tributes to the memory of the departed statesman.

Mr. Newell, of New Jersey, rose and moved the following as an additional resolution :

Resolved, That the seat in this Hall, just vacated by the death of the late John Quincy Adams, be unoccupied for thirty days ; and that it, together with the Hall, remain clothed with the symbol of mourning during that time.

Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, rose and moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint one member of this House from each State and Territory as a committee to escort the remains of our venerable friend, the Honorable John Quincy Adams, to the place designated by his friends for his interment.

All the above resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

In the Senate, after the formal announcement of the death of Mr. Adams had been made, beautiful and impressive tributes were paid to him by several senators.

Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, moved the following resolutions ;

Resolved, That the Senate has received with deep sensibility the message from the House of Representatives, announcing the death of the Honorable John Quincy Adams, a representative from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That in token of respect for the memory of the deceased, the Senate will attend his funeral at the hour appointed by the House of Representatives, and will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect for the memory of the deceased, the Senate will now adjourn until Saturday next, the time appointed for the funeral.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the Senate adjourned until Saturday.

Impressive funeral services were conducted on Saturday, in the Hall of Representatives, in the presence of a great audience, after which a large procession attended the mortal remains of Mr. Adams to the Congressional burying-ground, where they were placed in a vault as a temporary resting-place.

In the House of Representatives the following Monday, the Speaker appointed the committee of one from each State and Territory, under Mr. Tallmadge's resolution, to escort the remains to Quincy.

I had the honor of being chosen to represent the State of Alabama on that occasion. Some days after, the remains of Mr. Adams were removed to Quincy, Massachusetts, escorted by the committee appointed by the Speaker. The services at Quincy were very impressive, and were witnessed by a large concourse of people.

Upon our return to Boston a public dinner was tendered to the committee, at which a number of distinguished persons were present: among them, Honorable Harrison Gray Otis, who had for years been in retirement. The brilliant career of this gentleman made his attendance on this occasion a conspicuous and splendid compliment to the committee, and gave a great charm to the banquet. Several speeches were delivered, and among them was one from Mr. Otis, which was received with great applause. In speaking of the committee, he referred to me as the representative of Alabama in terms which gratified me greatly. At the proper time I was called on for a speech, and paid a tribute to Mr. Otis and to Massachusetts, which was well received. I give a paragraph or two of my opening remarks:

"Mr. President, the very handsome tribute to Alabama, to which we have just listened, calls for some reply on my part.

"I should be insensible too, Sir, to generous emotions if I could remain silent after the allusion which has been made to the State of which I am the only representative present, by the very eloquent and distinguished gentleman (Hon. Harrison Gray Otis) to whose speech we have just listened with so much pleasure. If there were nothing else to make this evening remarkable—if we could forget that every State of the Union has her representative here—if we could forget the dignified character of that national mission which assembles us in this city—if we could overlook the number of other distinguished persons who are here this evening, the presence of that gentleman alone would impart to it a peculiar interest.

"His illustrious career is already historical. He stands before us a noble impersonation of the great qualities which rendered the earlier period of our country's history so renowned.

"Belonging to a younger generation, I think myself most fortunate in being present on this occasion ; I have heard one whose fame long since inspired the wish to meet him, and whose eloquence gave him the pre-eminence in Congress in those days when that was regarded as the highest distinction in this country. In his speech this evening he has shed light upon an eventful period in our history, and has shown that New England felt her full share of patriotic ardor even at the commencement of the late war with Great Britain.

"He speaks of Alabama as she was when the savage roamed through her native forests, and when the beauty of her scenery might have induced the adventurous traveller to penetrate far into the green and pathless wilderness, or to explore her noble streams, if the Indian, in his untamed ferocity, had not driven him away from bowers hardly less beautiful than those of Eden.

"If he were now to visit Alabama he would find the wilderness had been made glad ; the Indian has followed in the track of the setting sun ; civilization, wealth, and refinement would meet his view, and the gentleman would find himself welcomed to homes whose hospitality might tempt him to linger long under her Southern skies.

"It is quite true, Mr. President, that I am strongly attached to the Union ; my sentiments are not misunderstood by the gentleman who has done me the honor to refer to them ; and I know, Sir, that the people of Alabama are faithful to the Union.

"A more patriotic people cannot be found anywhere ; they will stand by the government and the Constitution. With peculiar interests it is but natural that they should exhibit some sensibility in regard to the legislation of Congress, and the spirit manifested by other States. Indeed they must have lost all Revolutionary recollections if they did not watch with jealousy the encroachments of the government, and demand from it an ample protection for all their property and all their rights. They have confided in the good faith of the people of the United States, and in the just action of the government which they trust will never transcend the limits of the Constitution.

"I think, Sir, I may promise for Alabama that she will stand shoulder to shoulder with Massachusetts in upholding the Constitution and the Union. Massachusetts has been true to the Union throughout her whole history, and she will be loyal to it while her granite hills stand. How could she be otherwise ? She is covered all over with monuments which mark the spots where the battles of freedom were fought ; the blood of martyrs consecrates her soil, and the American of all future times will tread her plains, and visit her heights with such emotions as swelled the bosom of the Athenian when he stood upon Marathon and Thermopylæ.

"This very city was the cradle of American liberty, and the convulsion which rocked it was the Revolution. Yonder harbor witnessed the first resistance of the American people to the tyranny of the British government.

"That granite column which rises in its noble proportions, not far from the spot where we are now assembled, marks the place where American valor first resisted and repelled British troops.

"But a little way from us is the spot where Washington rode out to take command of the army of the Revolution.

"Faneuil Hall yet rings with the tones of indignant and heroic men who defied the colossal power of Great Britain.

"The house of Hancock yet stands, recalling the early struggles of that eventful period, and bringing vividly before us the man whose bold signature first graced the Declaration of Independence.

"The ashes of the elder Adams are mingling with your soil, and we have just borne the remains of his illustrious son to the family tomb at Quincy."

I passed a day or two in Boston, and was invited to meet a party of gentlemen at a dinner by Mr. William H. Prescott, the scholar and historian. Several eminent scholars and distinguished statesmen and enterprising merchants were present, and the conversation at the table was unusually agreeable. Some one said something about conundrums, and one or two were given for solution. I remarked that I had recently seen one somewhere that pleased me, and I was called upon to give it. I did so in these words: "Why is a promissory note like a blade of grass?" Several attempted an answer without success; among the number was Honorable Mr. Holmes of Charleston, South Carolina. I was compelled to solve the question, and gave the answer: "Because it matures by falling due." Great satisfaction was expressed by the company, and the conundrum was pronounced to be one of the finest that had been heard.

Some days after my return to Washington a member from Massachusetts came to my seat in the House, saying that he observed that I had dined with Mr. Prescott, in Boston. I replied that I had enjoyed that honor. He held in his hands a paper published at Cambridge which he handed to me, and I observed a paragraph noticing my presence at Mr. Prescott's table, saying that I had given on the occasion a conundrum of great beauty, quoting it. I said to my friend from Massachusetts that I did not intend to be understood as claiming the authorship of the

conundrum, but simply gave it as one I had read somewhere.

The President sent a message to Congress stating that a treaty of peace had been concluded with Mexico, on the 2d of February, 1848. By the treaty New Mexico and Upper California were ceded to the United States, and the lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to the El Paso, taken for the boundary of Texas. These were our acquisitions. On the other hand the United States agreed to pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars, in five installments, annually after the first, which first installment was to be paid down in the City of Mexico as soon as the articles of pacification were signed and ratified there. The claims of American citizens against Mexico were all assumed, limited to three and a quarter millions of dollars. This acquisition of territory from Mexico, while it added largely to the possessions and resources of the United States, was the cause of momentous events, which will be noticed hereafter. The question of the introduction of slavery into the territories acquired from Mexico, and into California, about to be organized into a State, was one not only of great interest at the time, but grew into such proportions as to array parties against each other throughout the United States, and to inflame the passions of men, both North and South, to a degree which soon threatened the existence of the Union.

Mr. Polk's term of office was about to expire, and candidates were to be chosen by different parties for the presidency. The greatest activity prevailed throughout the ranks of the Whig and Democratic parties, and another party was organized independently of these, drawing into its ranks leading men from both the former parties. This new organization named itself the Free-Soil party. It was founded upon the principle of non-extension of slavery to the Territories. It was an outgrowth of the Liberty party in 1846; it was merged into

the Republican party in 1856. The immediate cause of its establishment was the acquisition of territory at the conclusion of the Mexican war. The compromise measures of 1850, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 by the Kansas-Nebraska act, with the political agitation following, for a time gave great prominence to the platform and principles of the Free-Soil party. It formed the nucleus of the Republican party which was founded in 1856, chiefly from the ranks of the Whig party. The adoption by the Republican party of the Free-Soil platform in respect to slavery, ended the Free Soilers as a distinctive party.

General Taylor was now at home, and was the object of universal interest. He was named as a candidate for the presidency throughout the country by ardent friends, and especially by some of the leading men of the Whig party. His party affiliations were understood, but in order to make them still clearer, some correspondence was had with him upon the subject. He replied that he was a Whig, but did not belong to that class which might be called ultra. Soon a strong sentiment grew up in favor of his nomination to the presidency. I strongly advocated it, and lost no occasion for expressing my appreciation of his public services and of his fitness for the great office to which his friends proposed to elevate him. At a festival held in the Chinese Museum in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1848, I delivered a speech, presenting the claims of General Taylor upon the country, in which I spoke of him, not only as a great military commander, but a man whose qualities entitled him to the consideration of the whole country. I said in behalf of the Whig party:

"We present General Taylor as a candidate, not merely because of his great strength with the American people, but because of the great qualities which belong to him. To a mind clear and vigorous he adds a good heart. His enlight-

ened judgment, his self-possession in the midst of danger, his keen foresight, his love of truth, his independence, his unselfishness, his modesty; these all proclaim him great. His whole character is admirably balanced, displaying a rare combination of high endowments. . . . Gentlemen, at this hour we must look to our cause; we must give up men. I have stood by Mr. Clay with unshaken fidelity. . . . We are practical men. We shall not indulge the wild enthusiasm which would impel us into a desperate conflict for the elevation of a favorite leader. Men must give way that the cause may triumph. Under General Taylor's banner we fear no defeat. He stood upon the field of Buena Vista supported mainly by volunteers—the regular troops had been withdrawn from him; and yet when Santa Anna with his twenty thousand men rushed down upon him, they recoiled from the shock, covered with inglorious defeat. So it is now. General Taylor stands out the candidate of the people—he is sustained only by volunteers. The regular forces have not yet come into the field. But he cannot be driven from his position; and if attacked by any force, under any leader, he will give them another Buena Vista. I see around me gallant spirits, and I know that when General Taylor's name is brought forward they will spring to their guns, as Bragg and Washington did to their batteries.”

Party conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates were soon called. The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore in the month of May, and was numerously attended by members of Congress, and persons holding office under the federal government, which really held supreme power over the selection of a candidate for the presidency. The two-thirds rule was adopted, and that put the nomination into the hands of the minority, and of men accustomed to the manipulation of such bodies. Every State was allowed to give the whole number of its electoral votes, although it was well known that there were many of them which could not give the Democratic electoral vote at the election. The State of

New York was excluded from voting; two sets of delegates appeared from that State, each claiming to represent the true Democracy; the Convention settled the question by excluding both sets. Massachusetts, which had never given a Democratic vote gave twelve votes, and they were for the exclusion of New York, whose vote had often decided the fate of the election. After four days' work a nomination was produced. General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President; General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The construction of the platform was next entered upon, and one was produced which was supposed embodied the creed of the party. The principle of squatter sovereignty—that is to say, the right of the inhabitants of the Territories to decide the question of slavery for themselves—was then repudiated, and by a vote virtually unanimous. Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, submitted this resolution as an article of Democratic faith to be inserted in the creed: "That the doctrine of non-interference with the rights of property of any portion of this Confederation, be it in the States or in the Territories, by any other than the parties interested in them, is the true Republican doctrine recognized by this body." This article of faith was rejected, 246 against 36, so that up to the month of May, in the year 1848, squatter sovereignty, or the right of the inhabitants of a Territory to determine the question of slavery for themselves, was rejected and ignored by the Democratic party.

In accordance with usage the Whigs throughout the country prepared for the call of a Convention to nominate candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency; it was decided to hold the Convention in Philadelphia, and the month of June was selected as a proper time for its meeting. Mr. Clay still aspired to the nomination, and his friends urged his claims with their accustomed ardor. Mr. Webster was regarded by some of the lead-

ing men of the party as entitled to the nomination. General Scott had many friends who appreciated his great services in the late war with Mexico, and his commanding abilities as a statesman, and who believed that he was the strongest man in the ranks of the party to present to the people. General Taylor's friends were strong in numbers, and were enthusiastic in their support of him. I was appointed as a delegate to the Convention by the Whigs of Alabama, and was upon the ground early. I was a guest of Honorable Josiah Randall, a distinguished statesman and an ardent Whig, whose hospitality was profuse and elegant.

At the opening of the Convention it was found that a serious contest would arise between the friends of the several aspirants to the presidency. I from the first pressed the claims of General Taylor with ardor. Some of my colleagues from Alabama urged the nomination of Mr. Clay, one of them being Honorable C. C. Langdon, editor of the *Mobile Advertiser*, which was conducted with so much ability as to exert a wide influence. The result of the first balloting was awaited with the greatest interest, and the votes were divided between the several candidates, no one having the majority of the whole number. There were 22 for Mr. Webster, 43 for General Scott, 97 for Mr. Clay, and 111 for General Taylor. Several ballots were taken without the choice of a candidate, and night coming on, the Convention adjourned until the next day. Upon the reassembling of the body the next day, the balloting proceeded, and eventually General Taylor received the requisite majority, 171, making his gains from the friends of Mr. Clay, whose vote was reduced to 32. Honorable Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for the vice-presidency, and the Convention adjourned. The nomination was received with enthusiasm throughout the country. General Taylor accepted the nomination in a letter characterized by his usual modesty and fine sense.

Mr. Fillmore accepted his nomination in a statesmanlike style and manner.

In the Whig National Convention, by which General Taylor was nominated, were several delegates from the Northern States, representing what were called "free-soil" opinions. On the rejection of a resolution committing the party against the introduction or existence of slavery in the Territories, several of these Northern representatives withdrew, and subsequently separated themselves from the Whig party. The result of the nominations made by the Democratic and Whig Conventions led to the formal organization of those who were opposed to the extension of slavery. A Convention was held at Buffalo, August 9, 1848, which was attended by delegates from all the non-slaveholding States, and from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. In this Convention Martin Van Buren was nominated for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. A platform was adopted, declaring that the new party was formed :

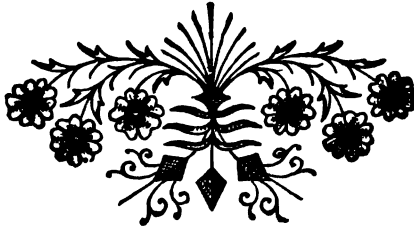
"To maintain the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people ; that slavery in the several States of this Union, which recognized its existence, depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the general government, and for which laws that government is not responsible ; we therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State ; that the only safe means of preventing an extension of slavery into Territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such Territory by an act of Congress ; that we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States and more slave Territory, our calm, but final answer is : no more slave States and no more slave Territory."

The canvass proceeded with steadily increasing interest ; the great questions presented by the several conventions,

and the claims of the respective candidates, were argued before the people with unprecedented energy and vehemence. The Democratic candidates, Cass and Butler, received 127 electoral votes; and the Whig candidates, Taylor and Fillmore, 163 electoral votes. Van Buren and Adams did not secure a single electoral vote.

Taylor and Fillmore, the Whig candidates, were elected. It is interesting to observe that the popular vote for Taylor was 1,360,099. For Cass 1,220,544. The popular vote for Van Buren was 291,263, but he failed to carry a single State.

So the result of the war with Mexico was the elevation to the presidency of a great soldier, who had exhibited during its progress the highest qualities of mind and character, and who commanded the respect and the confidence of the people of the United States.





CHAPTER XX.

Closing Scenes of Mr. Polk's Administration—Meeting of the Southern Members—Visit to Boston—Adjournment of Congress—Inauguration of President Taylor—Members of his Cabinet—Renomination for Congress—Canvass—Election—Triumph of the Whig Party.

THE last message of Mr. Polk, which was sent to Congress upon the assembling of that body in December, dwelt with much satisfaction upon the results of the war with Mexico, and paid a glowing tribute to the citizens who volunteered for service in the army which had achieved such brilliant victories. In reference to the large acquisition of territory as a result of the war, he congratulated the country, and proceeded to recommend a great measure in regard to its government, which, he believed, would afford a satisfactory solution of the controversy in regard to slavery. The President recommended the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, saying: "This is the middle line of compromise upon which the different sections of the Union may meet as they have hitherto met."

This recommendation for the adjustment of a great and dangerous question was eminently wise, and if it had been adopted by Congress would have given tranquillity to the country. But the recommendation met with but little favor in Congress, and was not adopted.

At this time, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun, the members of Congress from the slave-holding States, including senators and representatives, held a meeting at night

to consider the state of the country, and to agree upon some measure for the protection of the South. The meeting was held with closed doors, it being thought proper to exclude reporters until the deliberations of this grave and important assemblage could be matured.

Mr. Calhoun, always impressive, was never so impassioned and vehement as on that occasion. He was the lion roused. His manner in the Senate always displayed earnestness, occasionally great animation; his splendid eyes sometimes blazed, but his action was limited to a quick, decided raising of the right hand.

When he addressed the meeting of the Southern members, urging them to the adoption of a strong appeal to the people of the South to prepare for a firm resistance to the aggressions of the North, he rose to the height of Demosthenian ardor; his gestures were bold, and for the first time that I ever observed it in him, he stamped the floor with his foot. He depicted in indignant terms the growing aggressions of the non-slaveholding section upon the people of the South, and declared that a great crisis existed which must be relieved by some decisive action.

Some of the gentlemen present were in full sympathy with this great statesman, who had so long led the South; while others were disposed to address themselves to the people of the country at large, rather than to make an inflammatory appeal to their constituents of one section only.

A committee of fifteen was appointed, at the head of which was Mr. Calhoun, to prepare an address to the slave-holding States, and to report it at a subsequent meeting. At this meeting it was agreed that the report of the committee, after some consideration, should be recommitted for amendments. Meanwhile, a sentiment was growing in favor of sending out an address to the people of the United States, stating the grave condition of affairs, pointing out the encroachments which had

been made from time to time upon the rights of the Southern people, and appealing to the broad patriotic sentiment of the country to arrest this movement. This address had been prepared by a committee, of which Mr. Berrien, a senator from Georgia, was the chairman, and when reported was received with much favor. It was understood that in sending out such important papers for consideration the address should be signed by the members from the Southern States who approved it; and a large number, believing that Mr. Berrien's address was the wiser measure of the two, put their names to it. I signed it promptly. Mr. Calhoun's address, with some amendments which had been agreed upon in committee at a meeting attended by some of the members, was adopted and signed by several leading men of the South, composed of both parties. The paper had been left with the secretary of the meeting for the signature of such members as were disposed to attach their names to it. Of the gentlemen from my own State, Alabama, who signed it, were Senator Fitzpatrick and Representatives Bowden, Gayle, and Harris. I declined to attach my name to the paper, upon the ground that I did not think it proper in the existing state of things to appeal to the sentiments of the South alone, believing that we should draw to the support of our cause many of the leading statesmen of the North by a proper representation of the state of the country.

This meeting of the representatives in Congress from the slave-holding States attracted great attention throughout the country. It indicated the height to which the agitation in regard to the slavery question had risen, just as when a sea-bird is seen far inland it is recognized as a sign that a great storm is sweeping the ocean.

Having been invited to deliver a lecture before the Merchants' Library Association at Boston, I passed several days in that city. Hon. Nathan Appleton, learning

of my intended visit, wrote me in advance and gave me a cordial invitation to be his guest during my stay. In his charming home I was entertained delightfully. Mrs. Appleton gave me a warm welcome, and by her gracious attentions imparted an indescribable charm to my visit. Mr. Tom Appleton, too, who had passed much of his time in Europe, was at home, and with him I saw a great deal of Boston in out-of-door excursions. I found him very bright and agreeable.

Professor Longfellow had married a daughter of Mr. Appleton, who was a lovely woman. Mr. and Mrs. Appleton took me to Cambridge to call upon Professor Longfellow, and the acquaintance formed with that gentleman ripened into a friendship which continued to the day of his death. Professor Longfellow lived in a fine old mansion where General Washington had made his headquarters when in command of the army at that place. When some years since Professor Longfellow's exquisite lines, "*Morituri Salutamus*," appeared, I wrote to assure him of my thorough appreciation of the poem. He wrote me a beautiful letter in reply, dated Cambridge, August 25, 1875, in which, after referring to his feeble health, he said :

"But I will let no more days and weeks go by without thanking you for your sympathetic words.

"I am heartily glad that you like '*Morituri Salutamus*,' and that you were prompted by your friendly feelings to write to me on the subject.

"This adds a new charm to the pleasant memories I retain of you out of the past."

I passed an evening with Mr. Prescott, whose books had already interested me, and found him as entertaining in conversation as he was as a writer. He had a beautiful home, and Mrs. Prescott received her guests with a cordial grace that made it very attractive. We sat in the library, which, beside books, contained many objects of rare interest.

Mr. Prescott did not spare himself in scholarly pursuits, but his eyes were in such a state that he would not use them in every-day work. One eye had been injured when he was a student at college, and after some time he found that the other was becoming affected by sympathy with it. To preserve his vision he engaged a reader, and in writing used a frame which he had brought from London, that enabled him to accomplish his literary tasks without using his eyes. In the course of the evening he showed me into his working room, where he explained the construction of his writing frame. It was simple, but constructed in a way to enable the writer to use a stylus and trace the lines on a sheet of paper placed on a carbonated one, so as to give accurately the words written. It was a small iron frame to which a number of brass wires were attached, sufficient to cover a paper of the size desired for the manuscript. Mr. Prescott said that he had found it invaluable to him.

He showed me Washington Irving's autograph manuscript of "The Wife," published in his "Sketch Book," which he prized highly. He called my attention to a piece of the shroud of Cortez, which was of black lace. Returning to the library, the evening was passed in conversation with the family, and when I took leave I bore with me an impression of Mr. Prescott's home which is still vivid.

There was another home in Boston where I enjoyed an evening greatly—that of Mr. George Ticknor, whose scholarly researches and literary labors had won for him distinction at home and abroad. His later book, "History of Spanish Literature," has added greatly to his reputation, and is regarded, not only in England, but in Spain, as the finest and most authentic work on that subject that has appeared.

I found Mr. Ticknor one of the most agreeable men I had ever met, and with him, too, I formed a friendship

that was never interrupted during his life. His daughter, Miss Ticknor, a young lady of rare culture, attainments, and genius, who, a little while before the close of Mr. Webster's life, accompanied her father on a visit to Marshfield, and wrote a most interesting account of those autumnal days of that great statesman, was present. After my return to Washington this lady accorded to me the privilege of a correspondence which pleased and interested me. In the course of the evening Mr. Ticknor spoke of Hon. Hugh S. Legaré, who had visited Boston with President Tyler some years before, being at that time Secretary of State, for whom he expressed his great admiration. Mr. Legaré was taken ill, and Mr. Ticknor brought him to his house, where he received every attention, and where he expired. Mr. Ticknor said: "Mr. Legaré died in my arms; I was supporting him on the bed when he breathed his last."

On Sunday morning Mrs. Appleton asked me where I proposed to attend divine service. I said that it was my wish to hear the famous Theodore Parker. She said: "Mr. Hilliard, we cannot accompany you; we do not go to hear Mr. Theodore Parker in Boston." I begged her to excuse me, for a man of genius always interested me. Young Mr. Appleton was standing by and said that he would undertake to accompany me, as he was so much from home that he might venture to do so.

So in company with Mr. Appleton I made my way to the Melodeon, a building whose architectural adaptation to public speaking was admirable. Upon taking our seats I observed that a large platform was constructed, upon which a number of persons were seated awaiting the appearance of Mr. Parker. When he entered I observed him with interest. His face was strikingly intellectual, and his bearing that of a scholar and a man of the world, who bore himself easily in the presence of a large and cultured audience. His discourse was upon Christ, and

in the treatment of his theme he expressed himself in terms which showed his utter independence of recognized thought in the Christian world. He seemed to have no regard for creeds, not disregarding the authority of the Bible, but giving its teachings such an interpretation as pleased him, accepting the narrative given of our Lord in the New Testament, but stripping it of the supernatural. He presented Christ with His wonderful human endowments, placing Him at the head of all teachers, and drawing to Him by His matchless discourses the intellect and the learning of the world. One passage in his discourse was beautiful. He said :

“ This wonderful Being was in advance of His times, His people did not comprehend Him, and as He offended their deep-seated sentiment, and held Himself free from the bondage of those who claimed the right to speak of God and all things pertaining to Him, He roused their hatred to Him to such a height that they determined to destroy Him ; just as we have sometimes seen swine wallowing in the mire where a butterfly alights, and one of these coarse animals with its ugly head crushes the exquisite organization out of existence.”

The whole service was beautiful, bright, attractive, but there was not a touch of divine grace about it, not the whisper of an angel's voice, not a ray of divine love to illumine any part of it.

Returning to Washington I resumed my seat in the House, where I continued to take part in public affairs until the close of the session. When the day came for the final adjournment of Congress the Civil and Diplomatic Bill, commonly called the General Appropriation Bill, which provides annually for the support of the government, was sent from the House to the Senate. While under consideration there, an amendment was proposed, providing a temporary government for the Territories which we had acquired from Mexico. This amendment

was extraordinary, having no connection whatever with the General Appropriation Bill, and was therefore extraneous matter. It led to an immediate contest, which delayed and endangered the passage of this important bill, and the contention over it was not ended until long after midnight, when the hour had struck for the dissolution of Congress. The amendment was finally defeated, and the bill was ready for the President's signature. It is customary for the President to be present in a room set apart for his use in the Capitol on the last day of the session of Congress, that he may receive up to the latest hour the bills that have been prepared for his approval and signature. On this occasion Mr. Polk had for several hours previous to the passage of this bill left the Capitol and returned to the Executive Mansion, so that it had to be taken to the President for his signature when the hour had gone by for the exercise of that appropriate and essential act. Mr. Polk attached his signature to the bill, and it became a law. When the two houses adjourned the approaching dawn of day was almost visible, and the administration of Mr. Polk had closed.

Upon the arrival of General Taylor in Washington, towards the close of February, he was received with demonstrations of respect. His reception was so cordial as to rise into enthusiasm upon the part of his friends; the gratulations were due to him, alike for his qualities as a man, his brilliant military career, and his elevation to the great office to which he had been chosen by the nation. Unusual and extensive arrangements were made for his inauguration, and citizens from all parts of the Union hastened to Washington to welcome and to honor the new President. Many saw him for the first time, and pressed eagerly forward to catch a view of his person. Called out by the cheers of the people, he came to the portico of the hotel, and stood for a few moments returning the salutations which came to him from the vast

throng assembled to welcome him. General Taylor's appearance was prepossessing ; his head was fine, and his face expressed intellectual force and beamed with a blended look of kindness and dignity. His stature was somewhat above the medium height, and was solid and strong, while his bearing was soldierly and self-possessed. Every one who saw him recognized him as a man.

The day fixed for the inauguration of the new President, March 4th, falling on Sunday, the ceremony did not take place until Monday, the 5th, when General Taylor, standing in the great portico of the Capitol, delivered his inaugural address, and took the oath of office. An unprecedented multitude of people had assembled on the occasion, having been drawn to Washington to witness a spectacle of higher interest than had for some time occurred on such an occasion. The address was characterized by the fine sense which always distinguished General Taylor in his public addresses, and breathed a patriotic spirit which awakened the sympathy of all who heard him. At the conclusion of the address the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. Peals of artillery announced that a new President had entered upon the duties of that great place, and General Taylor entering a carriage with his predecessor, President Polk, drove to the White House, and took formal possession of it.

Meanwhile, Hon. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President elect, was installed as President of the Senate, and delivered a fine address on taking the chair. The Senate had assembled in extraordinary session to receive the nominations which the President might make for his Cabinet ; they were promptly delivered and confirmed. Hon. John M. Clayton, a senator from Delaware, a distinguished and able statesman, was appointed Secretary of State. Hon. William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, an eminent lawyer, and a man of great abilities, but little known at that time to the country, was made Secretary

of the Treasury. Ex-Governor George W. Crawford, of Georgia, was appointed Secretary of War; W. B. Preston, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy; Hon. Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, Postmaster-General. Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, a distinguished statesman of marked ability, who had previously been a member of General Harrison's Cabinet, took charge of the new department, as Secretary of the Interior. Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, took the office of Attorney-General.

Returning to Alabama I visited my constituents throughout the district, and received everywhere expressions of regard and confidence. In the course of a few weeks I was unanimously nominated for re-election to Congress. Some of the leaders of the Democratic party expressed their dissatisfaction at my course in Congress. They criticised my want of sympathy with the action of Mr. Calhoun and a number of other representatives of the slave-holding States in making an appeal to the people of the South, and advising them not only to vigilance in the protection of their rights, but the adoption of decided measures, and of resistance to the encroachments of the North. I thought it proper at this time to notice these criticisms of my course, and made a speech in Montgomery in vindication of my opinions. There was a full meeting of the people, and I stated in decided terms that it seemed to me the occasion called for the exhibition of a broad, patriotic, national spirit on the part of the Southern people, rather than the utterance of a menace against any section of the Union. I stated that without any disposition to censure the motives of gentlemen who expressed extreme opinions in regard to the policy of the South, and recommended precipitate action, it seemed to me that a conservative course would bring into sympathy with us the true men of the North. While the speech was well received by my friends, it seemed to inflame the opposition, and an

attack was opened upon me through the columns of the Democratic press, insisting that my want of co-operation with Mr. Calhoun, the great Southern leader, was hurtful to our cause. The opposition to me gathered force, and there was a systematic attempt to induce the people to oppose my re-election; meetings were held in Montgomery by some of the leaders of the Democratic party who expressed themselves as hostile to my return to Congress, and insisted that some gentleman should be chosen to oppose me at the coming election.

Upon my call a great meeting of the people was held, and I addressed them at length, treating the whole question in its largest relations, not only to the people of the South, but to the people of the United States; I took my position firmly, and stated that I was loyal to the South—that no man could question that—and was at the same time true to the Union. I stated that my objection to Mr. Calhoun's address was, that it was an appeal to a section; that it would rouse an opposition to the Union that could result in no good, while it would limit the action of the statesmen representing the Southern people within narrow lines. I declared my emphatic opposition to any step of that kind; I could not be induced to take my place with any body of gentlemen, however able, distinguished, and influential, who would advise the Southern people to sectional organization in defence of their rights. True to the South where I had been born, reared, and educated, where all my interests lay, where all my hopes were centred, and in whose bosom I was to sleep when my career was ended, still I believed that our true interest was to be advanced in a continued, cordial, and patriotic co-operation with the people of the whole country to uphold the Constitution and to preserve the Union. As to the menaces directed against me personally, stating that I had faltered in my loyalty to the South, and advising that I should not be indorsed by a re-election

to Congress I defied them to defeat me. "These self-constituted leaders of the Democratic party, who professed to be the truest friends of the South, say that at the last election they allowed me to return to Congress without opposition; I say to these gentlemen to-day, I intend to return to Congress, and I defy you to prevent it. The heart of the people of this great district beats in full sympathy with me, and they will stand by me while I uphold the standard of the Constitution and the Union." This vindication of my course inflamed the opposition still more, and they proceeded to make preparations upon an extensive scale for my defeat. A candidate was not selected from the ranks of the Democratic party, but James L. Pugh, Esquire, a member of the Eufaula bar, who had attained distinction in his profession, and who had been an earnest Whig, still professing to be loyal to his party, but who was in sympathy with Mr. Calhoun, and who insisted upon the adoption of energetic measures for the protection of the South, was induced to enter the field against me. An animated canvass opened, and was conducted throughout the district. Gentlemen prominent in the ranks of the Democratic party took part in it, exerting their influence, and travelling through the several counties of the district appealing to the people to defeat me. So, too, gentlemen of the Whig party wrote and spoke, and exerted themselves actively in support of me. The whole political field throughout the district presented an animated spectacle, the people turned out largely to hear the great debates from both sides, and the conflict continued up to the last day. The joint discussions between my opponent and myself were heard by great assemblages of the people, and were conducted throughout the canvass with ardor, but our personal relations at the end of the canvass were undisturbed.

The result was my election by an increased majority, and a large accession to the ranks of the Whig party.

This spirited canvass attracted the attention not only of the people of Alabama, but had been observed with interest by the great political parties throughout the United States. The *American Review*, a Whig journal, published in New York, gave the following notice of me in its December number :

“ His recent election is the most brilliant triumph of his life. One of the first to discover in General Taylor those great qualities that fit him for places of high trusts in the service of the country, he was conspicuous in giving impulse to the movement which resulted in his triumphant election. In the Philadelphia Convention he did his utmost to secure his nomination, and on the adjournment of Congress he threw his energies into the contest in Alabama, and contributed his efforts towards bringing that State so nearly to the support of the Whig candidates. After General Taylor's election Mr. Hilliard, having unbounded confidence in his character and principles, was willing to confide to his administration the settlement of all open questions, including that of providing governments for the new Territories. Hence he refused to participate in any mode of action that seemed to imply distrust ; and he declined to put his name to the address prepared by Mr. Calhoun, and issued by a portion of the Southern members to their constituents. Faithful as a Southern representative, steadfastly opposed as he had shown himself to be to any encroachment on the rights of the section from which he comes, he did not, it seems, think it his duty to co-operate in that movement. He had, besides, expressed it as his firm purpose to exert whatever power he possessed for effecting a settlement of the important question which so deeply interested the country, and threatened its tranquillity, so as to secure the rights of the South without impairing the strength of the Union. This course subjected him to the fiercest assaults on his return to Alabama, and a canvass ensued, which is described as far the most excited ever witnessed in that State, or perhaps in the Union. The most formidable opposition was organized against him—an opposi-

tion to which talent, energy, and money were freely contributed as elements, and unparalleled efforts were made to ensure his defeat. The press and the stump teemed with the most violent denunciations against him. His speeches and votes were misquoted and misinterpreted to make him odious to the people. His refusal to sign the address sent out by some of the Southern members was represented to be conclusive proof that he was faltering in the vindication of Southern rights, while certain appeals which he had made in Congress in behalf of the Union—appeals which were intended to rouse the patriotism of the representatives from every part of the Union—were tortured into open renunciations of the section which had given him birth, and which had advanced him to honors. The contest, relentless, implacable, and heated, drew the attention of the whole State, and was observed with interest in other parts of the Union. Eloquent and influential gentlemen of both parties entered the lists, and extraordinary exertions were made on either side. Mr. Hilliard is described as having borne himself throughout the protracted and trying contest with the most determined manliness, never for a moment yielding a principle, or asking a concession—staking everything upon the open field. He met the opposition in the most fearless spirit; defied the combination against him; entered the arena in person; appealed to the people throughout his extensive district, and addressed them in mass meetings; brought the question before them in all its relations, involving in its ultimate settlement the honor of the South, the safety of the Union, and the glory of the Nation; and insisted that under General Taylor's administration we should be able to maintain the 'RIGHTS of the States and the UNION of the States.' He emerged from the contest with a triumphant majority, and he returns to his seat in Congress, which he has filled with such distinguished ability, and with the increased confidence of his constituents and his country, to employ his powers still further in the service of both."



CHAPTER XXI.

Opening Session of the New Congress—President's Message—Angry Aspect of the Slavery Question in Congress—Mr. Clay—Mr. Webster—Mr. Calhoun's Last Speech—His Last Appearance in the Senate—Mr. Calhoun's Death—President Taylor's Plan of Settlement of the Slavery Question under Discussion—President's Death—Mr. Fillmore's Accession to the Presidency—Interview with Mr. Webster—Success of the Compromise Measures—Scenes in Washington.

CONGRESS assembled on Monday, the third day of December, with a full attendance of the members of both houses. Everything indicated that the opening session was to be one of momentous interest. A great conflict was impending ; not only was the tranquillity of the country to be disturbed, but the stability of the government was to be tested. The discussions involving the relations of the North and the South, which were to take place, would be as important as battles which decide the fate of an empire.

The Senate assembled, under the rules which governed it, with its accustomed decorum. Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President, presided ; his appearance was impressive ; of large stature ; a face beaming with intelligence, and a generous spirit ; his manner full of quiet dignity ; and his voice pleasing and sonorous.

The Senate-chamber presented a picture of rare interest. Mr. Calhoun was in his seat, the touches of time being now visible in the outlines of his face and in his form, which had lost something of its activity and vigor.

Mr. Clay was there, displaying the energy and the ardor of his mature manhood ; still there were to be seen upon his face and his person traces of advancing age.

Mr. Webster occupied his seat with undiminished impressiveness. He had not lost his old grandeur ; the face, even in repose, expressing power, and his whole bearing displaying dignity.

These three great senators, who had so long filled their places in that chamber, serving their country with unflagging patriotism, and attracting the attention of the nation, forming a constellation of unrivalled splendor, were but little above the horizon which they illumined, and behind which they were, at no distant day, to disappear forever from human view.

There too was Mr. Benton, who for so many years had filled his seat with the dignity of a senator, the learning of a statesman, and a bearing which gave him at all times a distinguished appearance.

General Cass, whose long career as a statesman and whose services to the country were well known, still filled his place with unswerving dignity and patriotic constancy.

Honorable William R. King, of Alabama, was there too, stately, elegant, accomplished, and exhibiting few signs of approaching age.

Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, an eminent lawyer, who had held the place of Attorney-General in General Jackson's Cabinet, and who had earned the distinction of an eminent statesman, one of the purest and truest of public men, still graced his place.

Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, who had been a member of President Harrison's Cabinet, and whose splendid abilities had distinguished him in every department of the service to which he had been called, was there too, his classical head and dignified bearing giving him an air of great distinction.

A new senator was observed—Honorable Salmon P.

Chase, of Ohio, already distinguished, and destined to still greater eminence.

Another senator attracted attention—Mr. Seward, of New York, whose abilities were already recognized, and who was to figure conspicuously a few years later.

There too was seen for the first time Mr. Soule, of Louisiana, a man of splendid abilities, and a manner so full of grace as to win for him universal attention.

In the House of Representatives an extraordinary spectacle was exhibited. No Speaker had yet been elected ; a protracted struggle had been going on, which continued for nearly three weeks. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop had been presented by his friends as a candidate for re-election, but there had been some falling off in those who had previously supported him. Hon. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, had been nominated by the Democratic party of the House for Speaker, and was warmly supported in the contest. The clerk of the House had from day to day called the roll of members, and while the two gentlemen just named held steadily the greatest number of the votes cast, neither of them had obtained a majority, and it became necessary to proceed until that end should be accomplished. Finding, at length, that it was impracticable to give to either of the leading candidates the number requisite for his election, the rule of the House was abandoned, and it was determined that a plurality should elect. More than sixty ballotings had been given in this prolonged contest before a resort was had to the plurality rule. Under that rule Mr. Cobb received 102 votes ; Mr. Winthrop received 99 votes ; some 20 votes being scattered. Mr. Cobb was declared elected, and was escorted to the chair by Mr. Winthrop and Hon. James McDowell, of Virginia.

The organization of the House having been accomplished, a committee was appointed to wait upon the President, and inform him that Congress was ready to receive a

message from him ; and it was promptly delivered. The President was confronted with extraordinary difficulties, and he felt the full weight of the responsibility which rested upon him. He believed that the stability of the government was imperilled ; that a protracted discussion of the slavery question would inflame the passions of parties, and that the safety of the Union required a prompt settlement of the existing questions. He was without experience as a statesman, but he had the manliness and the courage, so important at that time to be displayed in the great place which he filled, and he spoke with the same decision that had distinguished him on the battle-field. He was, of course, largely influenced by those about him in the counsels which he gave as to the remedies which should be applied to the surrounding dangers. He believed the dissolution of the Union would be the greatest of calamities, stating in his message : " Upon its preservation must depend our own happiness, and that of countless generations to come ; whatever dangers may threaten it, I intend to stand by it and maintain it in its integrity to the full extent of the obligations imposed, and the power conferred, upon me by the Constitution."

The President recommended to Congress to admit California as a State, and leave the other Territories as they were until they had formed themselves into States and applied for admission into the Union in that capacity. This was the President's plan, and he hoped that its adoption would avoid the discussion of topics of a sectional character which were likely to lead to sectional divisions. The plan was an impracticable one ; it satisfied neither the North nor the South, and a number of the best friends of the President in Congress declined to support it. There were several important questions involved. Not only must the claim of California to be admitted as a State be passed upon, and governments be provided for the Territories, but the boundary between Texas and

New Mexico was to be adjusted. The slavery agitation was rising to a great height, and the two opposite sections of the Union stood confronting each other; the North insisting upon the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, and the South indignant at this threatened indignity and aggression.

The state of the country at this time was described by Mr. Clay in the following words: "In the legislative bodies of the Capitol and of the States, twenty odd furnaces in full blast, emitting heat, passion, and intemperance, and diffusing them throughout the whole extent of this broad land."

Never did a thunder-cloud exhibit an angrier aspect; it touched every part of the horizon, and threatened the destruction of the Union. In this perilous condition of public affairs there was a touching exhibition of solicitude for the country displayed by Mr. Clay. He was now more than seventy-two years of age; his health breaking, and his frame shaken by a cough that threatened a speedy termination of his life. Still there was no decline in his intellectual power, and his spirit was as strong, and his will as unconquerable as ever. Undismayed by the magnitude of the crisis, he resolved to put out his full strength in the accomplishment of a settlement of the great quarrel between the North and the South. Never had his statesmanship at any period of his life shone with greater splendor than when he sat down to prepare a series of measures which he hoped would restore tranquility to the country. Since Mr. Clay's death, I have reviewed his career; I have observed the drama of his life; I have viewed him co-operating with other great men in the service of the country; I have seen him striving against opposing forces with a courage and a will that never for a moment faltered. But in this latest of his efforts to bring about a settlement of the mighty quarrel between the North and the South, and to save the Union,

his form stands out against the sky of the past in grander proportions than it had ever previously exhibited.

Before introducing the measures which he had prepared for the settlement of the great controversy before the country, Mr. Clay decided to submit them to Mr. Webster. For many years these great statesmen had been regarded as aspirants to the presidency, and their relations had not been cordial. Since the administration of President Tyler, in which Mr. Webster held the place of Secretary of State, and where he had achieved a brilliant success in conducting negotiations with Lord Ashburton for the settlement of important questions affecting the relations between the United States and England, and at which time great questions of financial interest proposed by Mr. Clay had been defeated by the President, there had been something like an estrangement between them. Still their intercourse had never been interrupted, though it continued to be little more than formal. But now when both were deeply concerned in regard to the state of the country, Mr. Clay felt that he might confer with Mr. Webster without reserve in regard to the measures which he was about to propose for the settlement of existing troubles. Ordering his carriage on an inclement evening, in January, Mr. Clay drove to Mr. Webster's house, without giving him any previous intimation of his visit. Mr. Webster, it is understood, gave him a cordial reception, and the scene that followed is one of such historical importance that, if painted by a great artist, would interest the country through all coming time. Mr. Clay submitted his plan to Mr. Webster, and they both considered it with an earnestness that was deepened by the desire of both to adopt some measure that would settle forever the questions which disturbed the country. A memorandum made at the time by a gentleman who was at Mr. Webster's house during the interview is so full of interest that I quote it at length :

" Monday Evening, January 21, 1850.

" At seven o'clock this evening Mr. Clay came to Mr. Webster's house and held a long interview with him concerning the best mode of action to settle the difficulties growing out of slavery and the newly acquired Territories. I heard a part of the conversation. Mr. Clay retired after an interview of about an hour. Mr. Webster called me to his side, and spoke to me of Mr. Clay in words of great kindness. He said he agreed in substance with Mr. Clay ; that he thought Mr. Clay's objects were great and highly patriotic ; Mr. Clay seemed to be very feeble, had a very bad cough, and became quite exhausted during the interview ; that he had no doubt that it was Mr. Clay's anxious desire to accomplish something for the good of the country during the little time he had left upon earth. That perhaps Providence had designed the return of Mr. Clay to the Senate to afford the means and the way of averting a great evil from our country.

" Mr. Webster said further that he regarded Mr. Clay's plan as one that ought to be satisfactory to the North, and to the reasonable men of the South ; that he had not reflected enough upon any part of it, but his first impression was that he could adopt the whole of it, and if, upon further consideration, he should hold his present opinion he would devote himself to this cause in the Senate, no matter what might befall himself at the North ; that as to the Wilmot Proviso, that was no shibboleth for him ; that from Niblo's Garden, in 1837, to this day he had declared his purpose not to assist in giving slavery a new home in any Territory of the United States. But, he added, if New Mexico be let alone she will be no more for slavery than California ; that it is useless and more than useless to be interdicting slavery where it could not exist, with the sole effect of needlessly irritating the South. He said that Mr. Clay had told him that some of the Democratic senators, and most of the Whigs, except those from the North, would approve his purpose, though it would not suit the violent disposition of Georgia."

Mr. Clay's plan was exhibited in eight resolutions : 1. To admit California as a State, with suitable boundaries,

without the imposition by Congress of any condition in regard to slavery. 2. That as slavery did not exist by law, and was not likely to be introduced in any of the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico, Territorial governments should be established for those countries without any restriction against, or declaration in favor of, slavery. 3. That the western boundary of Texas be fixed at the Rio del Norte up to the southern boundary of New Mexico, and thence eastwardly to the line as established between the United States and Spain. 4. That the United States provide for the payment of all that portion of the public debt of Texas contracted before its annexation to the United States, for which its duties on imports were pledged, and upon the condition that Texas relinquish her claim to any part of New Mexico. 5. That slavery in the District of Columbia be left undisturbed until the adjoining State of Maryland should consent to its abolition, and that when such consent and the consent of the people of the District should be obtained, compensation should be given to the owners of the slaves. 6. That the trade in slaves in the District of Columbia brought there for sale be prohibited. 7. That some financial provision be made by law for executing that clause of the Constitution which required the extradition of fugitive slaves escaping from one State into another. 8. That it be declared that Congress has no power over the subject of the trade in slaves between States in which slavery obtained by the local law.

The resolutions embodying Mr. Clay's plan of compromise were submitted to the Senate January 29th, and their effect upon the controversy still going on in both houses of Congress was not visible. Shortly after these resolutions had been offered, President Taylor submitted the proposed constitution of California, and this added to the complication of affairs.

While the question in regard to California was before the Senate, and a discussion was going on that deepened

in interest every day, an event occurred, so full of interest as to impress the whole country. For some time Mr. Calhoun's health had been failing and it was understood that he intended, while he had yet strength enough to be able to address the Senate, to deliver a well considered speech touching upon the state of the country. On the 4th of March Mr. Calhoun rose in the Senate and, addressing the Vice-President, stated that he had prepared a speech which he hoped to be able to deliver, but finding that his strength had declined so much as to make it impossible for him to do so he proposed to call upon his friend, Mr. Mason, a senator from Virginia, to read it for him. Of course there was no objection to this, and Mr. Calhoun, handing his written speech to Mr. Mason, took his seat. I was present at the time and observed the effect produced. The Senate seemed to be stilled, almost awed, by what had taken place, and as Mr. Mason proceeded to read this last speech of Mr. Calhoun there was an unbroken silence, and the attention of all present was riveted to the words which were uttered.

In this speech the great statesman exhibited in the strongest terms the nature of the sentiment in the Southern States in regard to the existing controversy, and stated that it was their settled conviction that in view of the hostile attitude of the North, and of the measures which proposed to exclude them from the full possession of their rights under the government, they ought not to remain in the Union—that to do so would sacrifice both their honor and safety. The great practical question was whether the North would admit the equal right of the slave-holding section to occupy the new Territory, and thus restore and preserve the political equilibrium of the Union. In this great speech, which so clearly exhibited the status of the South, and which so powerfully affected Congress at the time, and the people of the whole country, when they became acquainted with

its terms, Mr. Calhoun seemed to stand forth as an arbiter of the fate of the Union. His conclusion was as emphatic and far-reaching in its effect as any speech ever delivered in ancient or modern times. He said :

“It is time, senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled it is uncertain whether it ever can be hereafter ; and we as the representatives of the States of this Union regarded as governments should come to a distinct understanding as to our respective views in order to ascertain whether the great questions at issue can be settled or not. If you who represent the stronger portion cannot agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so ; and let the States that we both represent agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling we should part in peace tell us so, and we shall know what to do when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent you will compel us to infer by your acts what you intend. In that case California will become the test question. If you admit her under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired Territory, with the intention of destroying irretrievably the equilibrium between the two sections. We would be blind not to perceive in that case that your objects are power and aggrandizement, and infatuated not to act accordingly.”

Another great statesman was now to appear upon the scene. Mr. Webster had not yet expressed himself fully in regard to the important questions affecting the country. He was obtaining information which would satisfy him as to what it might be proper to say in this great conjuncture. It is stated from an authentic source that he had learned some two months previously from President Taylor and the members of his administration what convinced him that a dangerous policy was likely to be pursued by the Executive in regard to these sectional controversies, and

that a different and more comprehensive plan of pacification must be pursued. Before General Taylor's death Mr. Webster had made up his mind to give his support to such a plan; he was strongly disposed to take a stand with Mr. Clay in the advancement of his measures. In a letter to an eminent minister of Philadelphia, dated Washington, February 15, 1850, and which has since been given to the public, he said, towards its conclusion :

"In my opinion it is the mild influence of Cristianity, the softening and melting power of the Sun of Righteousness, and not the storms and tempests of heated controversy, that are in the course of those events which an all-wise Providence overrules to dissolve the iron fetters by which man is made the slave of man.

"The effect of moral causes though sure is slow. In two thousand years the doctrines and miracles of Jesus Christ have converted but a very small part of the human race; and among Christian nations even, many gross and obvious errors, like that of the lawfulness of slavery, have still held their ground. But what are two thousand years in the great work of the progress of the regeneration and redemption of mankind?

"If we say that the course is onward and forward, as it certainly is in regard to the final abolition of human slavery, while we give to it our fervent prayers, and aid it by all the justifiable influences which we can exercise, it seems to me we must leave both the progress and the result in His hands who sees the end from the beginning, and in whose sight a few years are but as a single day."

Whatever might be Mr. Webster's sentiments in regard to slavery, however ardently he might desire its abolition, he would do nothing to hasten it by any act of his as a senator of the United States; he would not contribute his influence to the support of any measure that was unjust to the South, or that would wound the sensibilities of her people. He knew no law under which he could perform

an act superior to the Constitution, to which he gave his steady support. No appeal to a higher law found any favor with him. He was a statesman in the noblest sense of the word ; the North and the South could alike trust him under all exigencies ; he would uphold the Constitution, he would maintain the Union. When, therefore, it was understood that he was about to deliver a speech in regard to the great controversy which had inflamed the country, and which seemed to defy a pacific solution, every one was eager to hear him. Mr. Clay had already spoken at length, when he introduced his resolutions ; Mr. Calhoun, in the speech just referred to, had delivered himself fully upon that subject ; and on the 7th of March the third of that great trio of statesmen, who have disappeared from our view, but whose influence is still felt throughout the length and breadth of this country, rose in the Senate, and delivered a speech which will take rank through all the coming periods of American history as one of the most patriotic and powerful ever delivered in this country. He spoke that day, not for the North, nor for the South, but for the whole land, bounded on the one side by the Atlantic, and on the other by the Pacific, and stretching from the extremest borders of the North down to the farthest State washed by the Mexican Sea. When he spoke the Senate-chamber was thronged, every seat occupied, every foot where one could stand was filled, every senator was in his place, and among them was Mr. Calhoun, who was seen there for the last time. But three days before, he caused his speech to be read in the Senate, in which he made his final utterance in behalf of the South, which he loved so well. He was there to-day to hear Mr. Webster, for whom he always entertained a profound personal regard, deliver a speech which must powerfully affect the fortunes of the country. He occupied his seat until it was concluded.

In this great speech Mr. Webster declared himself

utterly opposed to the adoption of any measure for the exclusion of slavery by the government from the Territories acquired from Mexico. He recognized the validity of the resolutions under which Texas had been admitted into the Union. He insisted that all laws for the protection of the property of the people of the whole country should be fully executed; and he believed that a measure of general pacification would relieve the country from all apprehension in regard to the existing controversy upon the subject of slavery, and would inspire new hope and confidence in the Constitution, which embraced the whole country under its broad ægis.

In conclusion he said :

“ And now, Mr. President, instead of speaking of the utility of secession, and instead of dwelling in those caverns of darkness, instead of groping with those ideas so full of all that is horrid and horrible, let us come out into the light of day, let us enjoy the fresh air of liberty and union; let us cherish those hopes which belong to us; let us devote ourselves to those great objects that are fit for our consideration and our action; let us raise our conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties devolving upon us; let our comprehension be as broad as the country for which we act; our aspirations as high as its certain destiny; let us not be pigmies in a cause that calls for men. Never did there devolve on any generation of men higher trusts than now devolve upon us for the preservation of this Constitution and the harmony and the peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in that golden chain which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the States to this Constitution for ages to come. We have a popular, constitutional government, guarded by law and judicature, and defended by the affections of the whole people. No monarchical throne presses these States together; no iron chain of military power encircles them; they live and stand under a government popular in its form, representative in its character, founded upon

principles of equality, so constructed, we hope, as to last forever. In all its history it has been beneficent ; it has trodden down no man's liberties ; it has crushed no state. Its daily respiration is liberty and patriotism ; its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, courage, and honorable love of glory and renown.

"Large before, the country has now, by recent events, become vastly larger. This Republic now extends with a vast breadth across the whole continent. The two great seas of the world wash the one and the other shore. We realize on a mighty scale the beautiful description of the ornamental border of the buckler of Achilles :

" ' Now, the broad shield complete the artist crowned
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round ;
In living silver seemed the waves to roll,
And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole.' "

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Webster's speech a scene of dramatic interest and of great historical importance followed. Mr. Calhoun had not appeared in his seat since the delivery of his speech three days previously, but, ill and enfeebled, and needing repose, he left his apartments and came to the Senate-chamber that he might hear Mr. Webster, who, it was understood, would speak that day. When Mr. Webster took his seat Mr. Calhoun rose and said :

"I cannot agree with the senator from Massachusetts that this Union cannot be dissolved. Am I to understand him that no degree of oppression, no outrage, no broken faith can produce the destruction of this Union? Why, Sir, if that becomes a fixed fact, it will itself become the great instrument of producing oppression, outrage, and broken faith. No, Sir, the Union *can* be broken. Great moral causes will break it if they go on ; and it can only be preserved by justice, good faith, and a rigid adherence to the Constitution."

He resumed his seat. Mr. Webster then rose and said :

"The honorable member asks me if I hold the breaking up of the Union by any such thing as a voluntary secession of

States as an impossibility? I know, Sir, that this Union can be broken up—every government can be—and I admit there may be such a degree of oppression as will warrant resistance and a forcible severance. That is *Revolution*—that is *Revolution*! Of that ultimate right of revolution I have not been speaking, I know that that law of necessity does exist. I forbear from going further because I do not wish to go into a discussion of the nature of this government. The honorable member and myself have broken lances sufficiently often before on that subject.”

Mr. Calhoun : “I have no desire to do it now.”

Mr. Webster : “I presume the gentleman has not, and I have quite as little.”

Mr. Calhoun rose from his seat and, walking erectly, passed out of the Senate-chamber, which he was never to enter again.

Mr. Calhoun died March 31st, and a shadow passed over the whole country. It was the end of a great career. Never in ancient or modern times had any man figured in public affairs who had so distinctly impressed his time with his personal qualities. His love of country was unquestioned, his sincerity clear as the noonday ; his earnestness rose sometimes to a height which was warmed with passion. His imperial intellect comprehended every subject that it touched, and in all the eventful periods of our history his counsels were given with perfect frankness, and his form was seen standing in the most difficult exigencies ready to meet every comer. He stood for the South, not with the hope of claiming for her any exclusive advantages under the government, but asserting her rights under the Constitution. In the vigor of his manhood his power was felt in every part of the Union, and when, in his last days, he saw the great combination of forces against the South, he laid down his life in appealing to the whole country to do her justice. The light that gilds the lofty column of his fame will grow brighter with

advancing years, and coming generations will look back to it with glowing admiration and with sincere homage.

The funeral services in honor of Mr. Calhoun were imposing. His remains were placed in a receiving vault until proper arrangements could be made for removing them to South Carolina.

The occasion will be forever associated with memories that still affect me profoundly. My son, named for myself, then in his seventeenth year, had just been appointed a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point, by President Taylor, from the country at large. He was just recovering from a prolonged indisposition, and had not regained his strength, but he desired to be present in the procession that attended the remains of Mr. Calhoun to the cemetery, and he did so on horseback, riding a spirited horse, and exposed to the inclemency of a raw and gusty day. Returning from the funeral he still exerted himself, and going to the Capitol he returned a book which he had read, a volume of Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," and brought back another. The exposure and the fatigue were too great for him; he lingered for nearly three weeks, and died before my eyes. I decided to take his remains to Montgomery, and it so happened that on Monday morning when I was ready to proceed on my journey I found the committee of Congress escorting the remains of Mr. Calhoun at the boat, and they manifested their sympathy with me by taking charge of the remains of my son at the same time. I comprehended what Cromwell meant when, in speaking of the death of his son, he said: "It went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did." I was able to read too, with deep sympathy, Mr. Burke's remarks in regard to the death of his own son, which occurred while he was in the midst of the tumult of political life. While he lamented his loss, he said:

"But the Disposer whose power we are little able to resist, and whose wisdom it behooves us not at all to dispute, has

ordained it in another manner, and, whatever my querulous weakness may suggest, a far better. The storm has gone over me ; I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honors ; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth ! There, prostrate there I must unfeignedly recognize the Divine justice, and in some degree submit to it. . . . I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have succeeded me have gone before me. They who ought to have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors."

My son had already made large attainments, and was full of promise. The *Alabama Journal* of Montgomery said of him, in May, 1850 :

" His mind was of the first order—clear, quick, vigorous, and comprehensive. His attainments were large and various in an extraordinary degree for one of his years. He was a companion for the most intelligent and cultivated.

" His character was of the noblest style. He was full of courage, fond of manly exercises, yet gentle, affectionate, entering gladly into social enjoyments. The lofty nature of even his youthful years never stooped to anything low, nor ever compromised his dignity in the slightest degree. His sentiments were always pure, always noble, always generous.

" His tastes were highly cultivated. He examined with just discrimination books and works of art, and was accomplished in drawing and painting.

" His religious views and habits were peculiarly satisfactory. He prayed habitually, recognized the Providence of God with humility and resignation, looked to the Redeemer for salvation, and in his last illness had his mind fixed upon his acceptance with God.

" His appearance was striking. No one could observe him without being struck with his nobly developed head and intellectual face, impressing all who knew him with a high sense of his young yet finished character."

Returning to Washington I resumed my duties in Congress. In an interview with President Taylor he spoke of my son, expressing his deep sympathy with me, and his regret at the death of one so full of promise.

President Taylor's plan in regard to California and the Territories was still under discussion. A committee of thirteen was appointed in the Senate to consider the whole question. Their report led to a prolonged, able, and important discussion; before it was concluded an event occurred which at once arrested the whole current of public business, and produced the profoundest sensation throughout the country.

President Taylor attended the celebration of the anniversary of American Independence, on the morning of the 4th of July, in company with his family, and several of the heads of departments, conducted by the Washington National Monument Association. The day was of unusual heat, and the services were of great length. President Taylor was in fine health and spirits throughout the morning, but upon returning to the Executive Mansion he complained of some indisposition; this deepened into extreme illness, which neither the skill of physicians nor the unceasing attentions of those about him could relieve. He expired on the 9th of July, conscious to the last, after having uttered the words: "I have endeavored to do my duty; I am prepared to die. My one regret is in leaving behind me the friends I love."

Mr. Fillmore's accession to the presidency occurred the next day with brief but impressive ceremonies, which took place in the Hall of Representatives. Mr. Fillmore, with the fine sense of propriety that always distinguished him, did not proceed to the great eastern portico of the Capitol, but in the presence of both houses of Congress, in conformity to his wishes, previously expressed, he took the oath of office without any inaugural address, and

bowed and retired. The whole scene was a noble illustration of our system of government.

The next day President Fillmore sent a message to the two houses recommending suitable measures to be taken on the occasion of the funeral of his predecessor.

"I recommend to the two houses of Congress to adopt such measures as in their discretion they may deem proper to perform with due solemnities the funeral obsequies of ZACHARY TAYLOR, late president of the United States, and thereby to signify the great and affectionate regard of the American people for the memory of one whose life had been devoted to the public service; whose career in arms has not been surpassed in usefulness or brilliancy; who has been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil authority in the government, which he administered with so much honor and advantage to his country; and by whose sudden death so many hopes of future usefulness have been blighted forever."

In accordance with the President's message, the two houses of Congress proceeded to make preparations for a solemn and appropriate funeral. It took place on Saturday, the 13th day of July. A more impressive spectacle had never been witnessed in Washington on such an occasion. Eight gray horses were attached to the car which bore the coffin, covered with black silk velvet, each horse led by a youth habited in a white frock with crape around the waist, and a white turban upon the head. General Scott, commander-in-chief of the military, in full uniform, mounted on a fine horse, rode in the procession. Behind the funeral car, "Old Whitey," the faithful war-horse, who had borne General Taylor in the great battles of Mexico, and who had been a conspicuous object at Buena Vista, where he had received a wound, was led, and was on this occasion an object of universal interest. Arriving at the cemetery, the remains were placed in the receiving vault, where the impressive funeral service was pronounced,

followed by triple volleys fired by a portion of the infantry and the light artillery. There the ceremonies ended.

Some few days later I had an interesting interview with Webster; we met in the Rotunda of the Capitol, where we entered into a conversation in regard to the state of the country. Walking the floor he expressed to me with perfect frankness his views of the still unsettled questions. In speaking of President Taylor he expressed his great respect for him, but thought that his want of experience as a statesman unfitted him for the adjustment of the momentous questions which he would have found it necessary to dispose of in the course of his administration. He said to me: "Mr. Hilliard, if General Taylor had lived we should have had civil war." He believed that the contest between Texas and New Mexico, in regard to a boundary line, would have risen to such a height as to lead to a conflict of arms. President Taylor regarded the boundary line as a question to be settled by the government, and he would have resisted an attempt on the part of Texas to take possession of any part of the territory of New Mexico. He believed that no man had a higher sense of duty than the late President, and his resolute character was so distinctly understood, that no one doubted that he would go forward in the support of his convictions, without regard to consequences. He expressed the hope that matters would now be adjusted, by some terms which would lead to a pacification of the dangerous quarrel. Continuing the conversation, I walked with Mr. Webster from the Capitol to his residence, and was greatly interested in the remarks he made in regard to the whole subject of political affairs in the United States.

Every member of President Taylor's Cabinet promptly handed in his resignation. Mr. Fillmore requested the Cabinet to continue in their places until their successors could be chosen, and they did so. Upon the invitation

of Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Webster took charge of the Department of State, much to the satisfaction of the friends of the new administration.

Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, was appointed to succeed him in the Senate. The eminent fitness of that gentleman for his new position was well known. His attainments, his manners, his political principles, and his large experience in public life all fitted him for a useful and brilliant career in the Senate.

The compromise measures were promptly acted upon, but it took some time to mature them. A very important question was involved in the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, but a satisfactory measure in regard to it passed the Senate and came to the House. Immediately before the question was submitted to a final vote, I delivered a speech advocating the measure. I took the ground that the claim of Texas to its full boundary was clear; that the United States, having undertaken to defend that State and assert its claims against Mexico to the fullest extent, and having at the close of the war accomplished all the objects which we undertook when we entered into it, could not now refuse to recognize the boundary which had been acquired from Mexico for Texas. It seemed to me that we ought not now to turn that State over to any other tribunal for the adjustment of its claims. We had acquired title to all the territory claimed by Texas; we could not assert it for ourselves, but it enured to the benefit of the State which had been admitted into the Union. The measure, as it came to the House from the Senate, was adopted without alteration. Before the adjournment of Congress the compromise measures were adopted and were approved by President Fillmore. The success of these important measures was received with acclamations of joy in Washington; the scenes that followed the night after the announcement of their success surpassed in enthusiasm

anything that had been witnessed there for many years. Mr. Winthrop entertained at dinner several gentlemen, and I had the honor of being one of his guests. I was seated by the side of Mr. Webster, and near us sat General Scott and Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court, and there were a number of other distinguished gentlemen present. Mr. Webster retired early and drove to his own residence. Later in the evening General Scott came to me and said: "Mr. Hilliard, let us call on Webster and offer our congratulations." We found a number of gentlemen already there, who had called on Mr. Webster to greet him on the auspicious occasion; the most of them retired, leaving General Scott and myself with Mr. Webster, who, in fine spirits, was conversing with us in regard to the success of the measures which he hoped would restore tranquillity to the country. At that moment music burst on the air, and we heard the tramp of approaching feet. It was a party come to serenade the great statesman. General Scott immediately passed out of the door, but I remained to witness the scene. Mr. Webster was called for, and advancing to the door he passed through it and stood upon the steps of his house, where he thanked the great assemblage for the honor which they had done him, and proceeded to deliver a brief speech in his most animated style. At its conclusion some of those in front of the house recognized me and called me out. I made a brief speech, expressing my great gratification at the success of measures so important to the peace and prosperity of the whole country.

After an extended conversation with Mr. Webster, in which he spoke with the utmost frankness in regard to the state of the country and of his personal relations to public affairs, I took leave of him.

The compromise measures, as they were called, consisted of an act to admit California as a State with "free" constitution and with certain defined boundaries: an act

for the organization of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, without any restrictions against or a declaration in favor of slavery ; an act to fix the boundary of Texas ; a new act for the extradition of fugitive slaves ; an act excluding the slave-trade from the District of Columbia. It was the hope of the conservative men in Congress that the people of the United States would treat these measures as a final settlement of all questions relating to slavery on which there could be any action of Congress under the Constitution.

After a session of unusual length and of great importance, Congress adjourned on the 30th day of September.





CHAPTER XXII.

Interval between the Two Sessions of Congress—Visit to New York—Speech at Castle Garden, October 14, 1850—Jenny Lind—Great Concert in Philadelphia—Opening of the December Session of Congress—State of the Country—Social Life in Washington—Sir Henry L. Bulwer—Mr. Corcoran—Mr. Benjamin Ogle Tayloe—Adjournment of Congress.

THE interval between the second session of Congress was so brief that I decided not to return home, but to seek recreation in a visit to the North. I proceeded to New York, and passed some time there in visiting objects of interest, in receiving social attentions, and in meeting eminent men. I received an invitation to visit the American Institute, at Castle Garden, and delivered a speech there on the 14th of October, 1850. I thought it a proper occasion to contribute something to the encouragement of a national sentiment throughout the whole country. Having been introduced by General Tallmadge, I was received with enthusiasm, and said :

“ I feel myself honored, fellow-citizens, in being thus introduced to you by the venerable and distinguished President of the American Institute, who has so long devoted his talents and energies for the cause of industry and development of the resources of this great State.

“ And I feel myself honored, too, in being thus received by you, representing as you do the industry, the skill, the wealth, and the enterprise which are so rapidly advancing our country in civilization.

"I come to you from a distant State—a State known to you mainly, so far, by its agriculture, yet not wanting in mineral resources, and already engaged successfully in manufactures. But coming from that State to this emporium of commerce—this city which has already outstripped every city on the continent of Europe, and which is destined soon to rival the great metropolis of England itself,—coming to this city, I feel there are some considerations which bind us together in common sympathy.

"I can on the present occasion, when there is so much all around you to interest you, advert to but one or two of these considerations. The first of these is that we belong to the same country ; we are all Americans ; we are all citizens of one government. I come from a State washed by the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and I am now in a city belonging to a great State washed by the Saint Lawrence, and stand this evening in a building against which the waves of New York Bay break ; yet the broad expanse which stretches between New York and Alabama, between your home and my home, is our common country. Every part of it—every plain, and mountain, and stream, and village, and city, all belong to us ; and over the whole extent of it the same great and beneficent political system spreads its majestic proportions.

"The same flag that floats over your ship floats over ours ; the same historic recollections which warm your hearts warm ours ; and the same future that is opened to your eyes is opened to ours. Diversities I know there are ; great States called by different names there are ; but they are not hostile States. No fortress frowns upon the streams which mark their boundaries ; it is but an extension of the same family ; they have spread from the Atlantic shores to the Mississippi, to the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific coast, but they have borne with them everywhere the same religious and political institutions.

"As Americans, therefore, I know that in this we shall sympathize with each other—we have a common country ; common in its origin, common in its history, and common in its destiny. There is another consideration to which I will advert. It is

this : we are all alike interested in the success of American industry ; we feel we are pledged to this great cause. The industry which belongs to the North interests us of the South ; and, gentlemen, I say to you, standing here as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, in my judgment a common government ought to grant a wise, moderate, and steady protection to American industry.

“ I believe that agriculture, the first great employment of man—the noblest employment of man,—agriculture, which takes one from his fireside into the fields, where, with the plough, he turns the soil to the face of heaven, and casts the seed in with his hands,—agriculture should enjoy the support of the government, whose protection should always be equally extended to the mechanic arts. Let the artisan who labors at the forge or in the workshop feel that his government cares for and protects him, and he will feel an interest in the prosperity of his government.

“ I regard this exhibition as one of the noblest displays of American character. It is like America.

“ Some years since, when in Europe, I witnessed an exhibition of industry in Paris. It was composed chiefly of articles of beauty and grace. Everywhere the eye rested on some article marked by exquisite skill. Everything attested the perfection to which art had been carried in some of these branches.

“ But when I entered your fair to-night I found that you are employed chiefly in the production of useful articles ; I find here the plough, the scythe, the axe, and among these the manufactures of our looms. Of all the branches of human industry and specimens of excellent skill, the great elements I see are those of power—mighty industries spreading happiness over the land.

“ In former times wealth and industry were expended for the benefit of the few. The head of a powerful dynasty, one who had his retainers, enjoyed chiefly the result of their labors. It is not so now. The skill of the mechanic, the power of the artisan, and the wealth of the capitalists,—these are now employed for the benefit of the masses ; not to make the great greater, the rich richer, but to spread comfort among the

masses, to make their firesides smile with happiness, and their children rejoice in the home of industry.

"This is the great picture which America presents—industry diffusing wealth among the masses. It is a glorious spectacle of widespread happiness. The tendency of our institutions is to diffuse wealth rather than to concentrate it in a few hands, and I rejoice that it is so. But understand me ; wealth is entitled to protection as well as industry. I have no sympathy with that class of reformers who would strip the wealthy of their possessions and scatter them abroad in the vain hope of augmenting the sum of human happiness by destroying the great principles which bind society together. Far be it from me, gentlemen. I would have every man enjoy his individual property. I am for that sort of industry which spreads wealth among the laboring classes, and elevates them gradually to the scale that rises above them.

"Government is constituted for the good of those who support it ; no government can be stable or powerful which is not administered for their benefit. I find that I have announced a great political doctrine ; it is one which history teaches, and future generations will write it upon the face of the whole earth. No government ought to stand which overlooks or neglects the welfare of its people. The American government, the greatest popular government which the world has ever beheld, is established for the protection of its people in all their rights at home and abroad. When the American citizen quits his own shores he looks to his government for protection against the tyranny of other governments ; upon the high sea he feels in the flag that floats over him ample security, because the whole power of America goes with that flag, and wherever he may go in his travels he feels that his far-distant home guarantees his safety.

"But, gentlemen, this is not the only object for which our government was established. The citizen must be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. The government, in conducting its great operations, must not overlook the individual prosperity of its people, or sacrifice their personal welfare merely to advance the glory of the state. It

should, in its action, foster the labor of its people. I do not mean that it should shower benefits upon the indolent ; far from it. We raise our revenue by laying imposts. Now, are we to do this for the purpose of raising the greatest amount of revenue, and thus increase our treasury ? Far from it. We are so to lay them upon foreign imports as to discriminate in favor of our own industry, not so as to keep out the foreign article, but to do what shall result to the benefit of the producer at home. While we thus raise an ample revenue, and carry on the government, we shall make the system tributary to the prosperity of the whole country—the North and the South, and to all classes—the manufacturer and the planter.

“ . . . This sentiment I adhere to ; here and elsewhere I proclaim it ; I desire to see the Union which binds these States stand. To perpetuate it we must be just to each other. . . . Let us then stand by the Constitution. The enemies of the Constitution are the enemies of the government, the enemies of the country. The government cannot exist unless the Constitution is to be obeyed. If some of its provisions seem to bear hard on you, you must remember that some of its provisions seem to bear hard on us. The Constitution must be respected. Its authority is supreme. We must bear and forbear. When a crisis comes which appeals to our sectional sentiments—a crisis which would array the North against the South—let us rekindle our patriotism by going back to the scenes in which the great, the good men took part who formed the Constitution, and we shall learn from them to deal with each other as members of the same great family, and to cherish a patriotism broad enough to embrace our whole country.

“ I thank you, fellow-citizens, for your kind indulgence in bearing with me, and for the very cordial manner in which you have responded to the sentiments which I have ventured to express.”

Some days previous to my visit to New York, a great musical event had occurred. Mlle. Jenny Lind, the Swedish nightingale, had arrived. Her splendid career in Europe was well known. Not only was she a match-

less singer—a queen of song,—she was an extraordinary woman—one of those rare beings whose radiance outshines the glittering marts of trade, and sheds a lustre upon the world. One who knew her said: “She regarded art as a sacred vocation.” Miss Frederika Bremer wrote of her:

“Speak to her of her art, and you will wonder at the expansion of her mind, and will see her countenance beam with inspiration. Converse with her then of God, and of the holiness of religion, and you will see tears in those innocent eyes: she is great as an artist, but still greater in her pure human existence.”

The enthusiasm which she created in the great capitals of Europe rose to such a height that it was almost impossible to obtain seats in an opera house where she was to sing, unless arrangements had been made in advance. In Berlin the manager engaged her at the rate of four thousand pounds per year, with two months' vocation.

Mendelssohn engaged her for the musical festival at Aix-la-Chapelle, and was so delighted with her singing that he said: “There will not be born in a whole century another being so largely gifted as Jenny Lind.”

In Vienna the imperial family paid her the most marked attention, and the people were wild in their demonstration of admiration.

Her first appearance in London, some three years before she came to America, was a splendid triumph. A great musical authority says that Mendelssohn, who was sitting by him, and whose attachment to Jenny Lind's genius was unbounded, turned around as she advanced in her part, watched the audience as the notes of the singer swelled and filled the house, and smiled with delight as he saw how completely every one in the audience was magnetized. The delicious sustained notes which began the first

cavatina died away into a faint whisper, and thunders of applause went up with one breath, the stentorian voice of Lablache, who was sitting in his box, booming like a great bell amid the noise. The excitement of the audience at the close of the opera almost baffles description.

A writer giving an account of that season says :

"The struggle for admission after the first night made the attempt to get a seat, except by long pre-arrangement, an experience of purgatory ; twenty-five pounds were paid for single boxes, while four or five guineas were gladly given for common stalls. Hours were spent before the doors of the opera house on the chance of a place in the pit. Never had there been such a musical enthusiasm in London. Since the days when the world fought for hours at the pit door to see the seventh farewell of Siddons, never had been seen in the least approach the scenes at the entrance of the theatre on 'Lind nights.'"

Jenny Lind decided to leave the lyric stage, and her last appearance was on May 10th, in her original character of *Alice*. One who witnessed the scene describes it :

"The crowd was dense in every nook and corner of the house, including all the great personages of the realm. The whole royal family were present, the Houses of Parliament had emptied themselves to swell the throng, and everybody distinguished in art, letters, science, or fashion contributed to the splendor of the audience."

When the curtain fell, and a deafening roar of applause, renewed again and again, had ceased, Mlle. Lind was called in front of the curtain three times, and at last she stood, her eyes streaming with tears, while the audience shouted themselves hoarse, so prolonged and irrepressible was the enthusiasm.

She was singing in concert in Germany, when Mr. P. T. Barnum induced her to consent to come to America, and concluded a treaty with her for one hundred and fifty

concerts at the rate of one thousand dollars for each of the performances. One may imagine the enthusiasm excited by her arrival in New York. The people packed the wharf, and her hotel, the Irving House, was surrounded by not less than thirty thousand people, and she was serenaded by a band of one hundred and thirty musicians.

Her first appearance was at Castle Garden, September 11, 1850, and an audience of between seven and eight thousand greeted her. The enthusiasm was indescribable. The proceeds of the concert were twenty-six thousand dollars, of which, it is understood, Jenny Lind gave her share, ten thousand dollars, to the charitable institutions of the city. In her several performances in England she had given to charities sixty thousand pounds.

When I reached New York, Jenny Lind was in the city, but she had engaged to give a concert in Philadelphia. I could not miss it. My eldest son, William Preston Hilliard, just from Princeton College, was with me, and I immediately wrote to the proprietor of my hotel in Philadelphia to secure two seats for me.

Upon my arrival I inquired at the office of the hotel, and found that the seats had not been taken for me; expressing my deep disappointment, I was informed that Mr. Barnum was in the hotel, and I promptly called on him. He said that he was sorry to say that every seat had been taken, except one box for five persons, overlooking the stage. I asked the price; he replied fifty dollars. I secured it, and went in search of some gentleman of my acquaintance to share it with me. I met Honorable Mr. Levin, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and he consented to take three of the seats for himself.

In the evening, on entering our box, I found Mr. Levin and two ladies of his family, and in looking over the audience I felt already repaid. I had never witnessed such a scene; the audience was brilliant, and the animation already irrepressible.

When Jenny Lind approached, a storm of applause greeted her; she ran lightly upon the stage as she entered, bowing with perfect grace in recognition of the greeting. She realized perfectly a description given of her before she came to America. She was not handsome, but of pleasing aspect; a voice of placid sweetness, expressive features, soft dove-like blue eyes, and abundant wavy flaxen hair made up a highly agreeable *ensemble*, while the slender figure was full of grace. There was an air of virginal simplicity and modesty in every movement, which set her apart from her stage sisters. To this, her character answered every line. Moving in the midst of a world which had watched every action, not the faintest breath of scandal ever shaded the fair fame of this Northern Lily.

Of her voice a contemporaneous writer says :

“ Her voice is a pure soprano, of the fullest compass belonging to voices of this class, and of such evenness of tone that the nicest ear can discover no difference of quality from the bottom to the summit of the scale. Her lowest notes came out as clear and ringing as the highest, and the highest as soft and sweet as the lowest. Her tones are never muffled or indistinct, nor do they ever offend the ear by the slightest tinge of shrillness ; mellow roundness distinguishes every sound she utters ; as she never strains her voice it never seems to be loud, and hence some one who busied himself in anticipatory depreciation said it would be found to fail in power, a mistake of which everybody was convinced who observed how it filled the ear, and how distinctly every inflection was heard through the fullest harmony of the orchestra. The same clearness was observable in her *pianissimo*. When in her beautiful closes she prolonged the tone, attenuated it by degrees, and falling gently upon the final note the sound, though as ethereal as the sighing of a breeze, reached, like Mrs. Siddons' whisper in *Lady Macbeth*, every part of the immense theatre.”

I heard Grisi and Persiani in Paris, but the singing of Mlle. Jenny Lind, as I heard her in Philadelphia, was to me a revelation in music. Two of her songs charmed me beyond expression. The "Echo Song" was a wonderful performance; the clearness, the purity, the ringing sweetness, cannot be described. If one may compare light with sound, her notes seemed like the rays of the morning sun glancing from the icy cliffs of the Alps.

She sang "The Last Rose of Summer" with matchless beauty; there was a tender pathos in her voice which gave to these exquisite lines by Moore a new charm; the words—the Irish air—the grace of the peerless woman, as she stood before the entranced audience, cannot be described. I shall not forget that song while I remember anything. Those lines never fail to touch the hearts of an audience, and Flotow has interwoven them with his most beautiful opera, "Martha," and they will live as long as music sways human hearts.

The session of Congress which opened in December was not marked by any political event of importance. The passage of the compromise measures had disposed of the great questions which disturbed the proceedings of Congress for some years, and it was the hope of the conservative statesmen that they would be acquiesced in throughout the country. The state of the country was generally satisfactory.

In Massachusetts and in some other parts of the North there were expressions of dissatisfaction at the adoption of the measure providing for the extradition of fugitive slaves. At one or two public meetings some intemperate resolutions were adopted. In the month of February, 1851, a flagrant act of resistance to the law for the extradition of fugitive slaves occurred. An alleged fugitive slave was arrested in Boston under a process issued in conformity with the act of Congress lately adopted, and while detained in the custody of an officer in the United

States Court room was rescued. At a late hour in the evening a mob broke into the court house, and, taking the prisoner from the possession of the officer, set him at liberty. The negro made his escape and was not again arrested. While many were in sympathy with this act, committed in defiance of law, it was condemned by the great majority of the citizens, who felt that the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws passed in Congress, with its provisions, must be sustained.

There appeared at this time some men who encouraged a sentiment which, if it prevailed, would tend to the subversion of the Constitution and the government. They undertook to set up their private judgment of what the law of God ordained, in opposition to the positive commands of the fundamental law of the land. This dangerous doctrine, asserted in New England, and later in other parts of the Union by men aspiring to be leaders of the people, was absolutely incompatible with the administration of the government. Unhappily, it became afterwards so powerful as to array the North against the South, and to precipitate the country into a gigantic war.

Holland is protected by dykes against the sea; her safety demands that the billows shall not be allowed to break through a single barrier, for then must come the overwhelming ocean.

Such was the general condemnation of this infraction of law, and of the unstatesmanlike and dangerous doctrine which led to it, that the tranquillity of the government was not disturbed. Looking out upon the whole extent of the republic, I rejoiced in the wide picture of peace and prosperity.

Several important meetings were held to commemorate national events, and the most patriotic spirit pervaded them. On the 22d of February, 1851, the birthday of Washington was celebrated in the city of New York as a

national festival. It was a grand tribute to the Union. I was honored with an invitation to be present, but finding at the last moment that I could not leave my seat in Congress, I wrote a letter to the committee expressing my hearty concurrence in the object of the meeting.

The influence of this great meeting upon the popular sentiment of the country was widely felt. The friends of the Constitution everywhere were hopeful.

Social life in Washington was at this time delightful. The hospitality of the residents of the city—a people inheriting the generous qualities of their Maryland and Virginia ancestors—was abounding.

Several members of the Diplomatic Corps entertained with elegance. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer was at that time the English Minister at Washington. I enjoyed a friendly intercourse with him. The first day he took possession of his official residence he invited me to dine *en famille*. He excelled in conversation, and I was fortunate enough to meet him from time to time. On the occasion of this dinner he was very pleasing; I had represented the United States at Brussels, and had met in Europe persons connected with him, and in the service of the British government, and we found subjects to interest us both for conversation. Lady Bulwer was a daughter of Lord Cowley, and a niece of the Duke of Wellington. There was a natural frankness in her manner which made her very agreeable to our people. She gave me a warm welcome to her house. I met, too, at dinner Sir Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, a son of Lord Bulwer Lytton, a young gentleman who had lately entered the diplomatic service, and was an *attaché* and private secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry L. Bulwer. His career since that time has been brilliant in literature, and in the service of his country, being the author of "Lucile," and having been Governor-General of India, and Ambassador to France.

Mr. Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, whose elegant residence, near that of Mrs. Madison, was situated on Lafayette Square, in front of the President's mansion, gave attractive entertainments. His dinners and evening receptions brought together the most agreeable people of the city; and there were to be seen at his house the most distinguished persons holding official places. I met there at dinner, just before the adjournment of Congress, a party of gentlemen who would have graced any table. I recall among the number, Mr. Clay, Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. Gales of *The National Intelligencer*, General Scott, and several others conspicuous for their public services and for their high culture.

There was another gentleman residing in Washington, who, without holding an official position, has attained the highest rank in social circles. Mr. W. W. Corcoran occupied his magnificent residence nearly fronting the President's house, which was the seat of a hospitality distinguished for its profusion and elegance. His dinners were unrivalled for splendor; and the eminent men of our country—statesmen, scholars, and those who adorned the bench—were invited from time to time for many successive years, and were entertained in a princely way. Mr. Corcoran used his great wealth up to the day of his death in a way so generous and beneficent as to earn for him that noblest of all titles—philanthropist. The last time I dined at his table I met a distinguished party of gentlemen, Mr. Clay among the number, but a little time before he retired from such scenes, and whose brow seemed touched, even then, with the rays of a setting sun.

Congress adjourned at the usual time without anything having occurred to disturb its deliberations.

In reviewing my course in Congress I wish to state that during the excited discussions which occurred upon the subject of slavery, I never attempted to argue it as a moral question. I forbore to treat it in that light, with-

out any reference to my sentiments in regard to it, but upon the ground that to argue slavery as a moral question before Congress would be to admit the jurisdiction of that body over the subject. I took the ground that the institution of slavery existed within the Southern States before the organization of the general government, and that it was independent of its control. No powers conceded to the government granted to it any jurisdiction over that question. Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, were reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. Always regarding this fundamental provision in the Constitution as of the greatest importance to the States throughout the Union, and especially to the States of the South, I steadily adhered to it. I never conceded the right of Congress to treat slavery as a moral question, or to discuss its policy. Always ready to recognize and uphold the powers of the general government in their fullest exercise, and believing that the interests of the people of the South were safer within the Union than they could be outside of it, I regarded it as the truest policy to resist firmly on every occasion any attempt on the part of Congress to transcend the authority which it derived from the Constitution.





CHAPTER XXIII.

Return to Montgomery—Decline a Re-election to Congress—Discussions with Hon. William L. Yancey—Democratic Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852—Whig Convention at Baltimore, June 16th—Death of Henry Clay, June 29th—Death of Daniel Webster, October 24th—Presidential Election, November 2d—Administration of President Pierce—New Acquisition of Territory from Mexico—Organization of Two New Territories, Kansas and Nebraska—Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act.

IMMEDIATELY after the adjournment of Congress I returned to Montgomery, and received a warm welcome from my friends.

I was urged to accept the nomination for re-election to Congress. Leading gentlemen of the Whig party in Montgomery and in the surrounding country, embracing the whole district, insisted that I should continue my public service.

Just before the opening of the late session of Congress I had published in the *National Intelligencer* a full letter, declining a re-election, and giving my views on the state of the country. Believing the measures adopted by Congress would be accepted generally as a settlement of the slavery question, and that the administration of Mr. Fillmore would be thoroughly conservative, I felt that I might, for a time, retire from the public service without the sacrifice of my obligations to the party which had so long and so generously trusted and sustained me.

Before entering Congress I had for several years represented the government at Brussels, and I felt a sincere

desire to enjoy for a time my residence at Montgomery with my family and my friends. Therefore, with a grateful acknowledgment for the kindness of my personal and political friends, who desired to advance me in public life, I declined at that time to re-enter Congress. When the Whig district convention met to nominate a candidate to
/ succeed me they selected a gentleman in another part of the district of great respectability, who had some experience in political life, and who, being a large and wealthy
/ planter, was identified with the interests of the South. He accepted the nomination and entered upon a canvass of the district.

The Democratic convention had nominated for Congress Hon. John Cochran, who was eminently qualified for the public service. Some few weeks later the candidate of the Whig party, who had gone around the district, came to Montgomery and reported that if the election were to occur immediately he believed that he would be defeated. It happened at that time that there were a number of distinguished Whigs from different parts of the State at Montgomery, having business before the Supreme Court. There was an informal meeting held by these gentlemen, who were much interested in maintaining the ascendancy of the party in the important district which I had represented, and they came to the conclusion that it
/ was important for me to make a line of appointments throughout the district, appealing to my old friends to be loyal to our cause. Yielding to this appeal I published a line of appointments covering the district, and
/ stating that I would address the people at the places named; that I would not enter into discussion with any one. I was not willing to enter into a heated debate at that time, and I felt that it was my privilege to address my late constituents without meeting any one, as I was not a candidate for re-election.

Leading gentlemen of the Democratic party, not con-

tent with this plan, decided that some one representing them must meet me at the several places at which I had given notice that I would deliver addresses. One of the leading papers stated that I must not be permitted to speak to the people of the district without meeting some one to reply to me ; that there was one gentleman whom I had never yet met, who would take the field against me ; that Hon. William L. Yancey, who had, like myself, declined a re-election to Congress, would meet me at my appointments throughout the district.

My first appointment was at Union Springs, forty-five miles east of Montgomery, an interesting town in the midst of a beautiful country where wealthy planters resided. When I reached the place I found an immense concourse of people assembled. There was no railroad connecting the place with Montgomery at that time, but a number of gentlemen attended who desired to witness the first meeting between Mr. Yancey and myself. A large number of ladies were present, who took the greatest interest in such discussions at that time. My friends had erected a platform for public speaking which they supposed would be occupied by me alone. Some short time before the hour arrived when I should address the people, several of my friends came to me and stated that Mr. Yancey was on the ground and proposed to meet me in debate. After some conversation, I said to them that I was reluctant to engage in a public discussion, but that as Mr. Yancey seemed determined to draw me into it I should not avoid it. I authorized them to arrange the terms of discussion with Mr. Yancey's friends, reserving to myself the right on that occasion to make the closing speech. The scene presented to my view as I ascended the platform was one of extraordinary interest. Mr. Yancey, who had already taken his place, advanced and extended his hand, and we greeted each other cordially. It was a bright summer day, the sun shone with splendor

upon a beautiful landscape, and large numbers of carriages were drawn up near the stand, while the improvised seats were filled with the people. The chairmen, one chosen from each of the parties, presided, and the discussion opened.

Mr. Yancey's speech expressed in strong terms his views of the state of the country; he believed that the South should be represented in Congress by men ready to defend its interests to the last extremity; he did not believe that the compromise measures would be generally accepted as a settlement of the slavery question; that they did not deal justly with the South, and that they were vehemently opposed by the leading men of the North. He denounced compromises, and insisted that the people of the South should be ready at all times to vindicate their rights and withdraw from the Union if further aggressions should be made by the government. He spoke for more than an hour with animation, but not with the vigor that I had expected from him.

When I rose to reply I was received by my friends with enthusiasm, and I spoke for an hour and a half upon the state of the country, insisting that the recent adjustment of the slavery question might be regarded as satisfactory; that the South had lost nothing by the settlement, and that our true policy was to assert our rights vigorously within the Union, resisting any encroachment that might be made. Statesmanship of a high order under our government consisted in recognizing the authority of the general government to the full extent of its constitutional powers, and by asserting our rights under its protection rather than by resorting to menaces and proclaiming our purpose to subvert the Union. I stated that I was loyal to the South and at the same time a friend of the Union, which spread the ægis of its powerful protection over the country.

Holding opinions directly in opposition to those of Mr. Yancey, and being in sympathy with the great Whig

party, I met Mr. Yancey from time to time in a regular series of debates covering my congressional district, which was very large, extending from the Alabama River to the Chattahoochee, and down to the Florida line. The series of debates which had just been opened continued for some weeks; we were followed from place to place by a large concourse of gentlemen deeply interested in politics, who never swerved from their attention to our discussions until the end of the canvass.

These debates became so heated that when we reached Eufaula it was thought prudent to make arrangements for us to address the people from different platforms. Mr. Yancey, attended by his friends, spoke at one place, and I, by a large body of gentlemen who supported me, from another.

After this, proceeding to the counties below Eufaula, we met as before, some explanations having been made by mutual friends.

The great question at issue between Mr. Yancey and myself was the policy of inflaming the people of the South in opposition to the measures of the general government affecting our institutions. He insisted that our only safety was to be found in restraining the action of the general government within limits which left little power to accomplish any great result affecting the interests of the South.

I contended that the true policy of the South was to uphold the authority of the general government within the limits prescribed by the Constitution, and at the same time to protect the interests of the Southern people by a vigorous resistance in Congress to anything like encroachment upon our rights.

Mr. Yancey, impatient under opposition, chafed occasionally under my statement of the ruinous tendency of the policy which he advocated. He had voted for the bill organizing the Territory of Oregon, which contained

a clause excluding slavery ; before the passage of the bill he had voted to strike out this anti-slavery clause, but when it was embodied in the bill he voted for the measure. When, therefore, in the presence of great bodies of the people, he arraigned the Whig party for its opinions and denounced their policy as hostile to the South, I thought it proper at length to say it seemed to me that the gentleman himself should be more tolerant in his judgment of his political opponents ; that while I did not doubt the gentleman's loyalty to the South, he had himself conceded the authority of Congress to exclude slavery from a territory of the Union by voting for a measure forbidding its introduction. This roused Mr. Yancey to an extreme degree, it put him on the defensive, it made it necessary that he should explain the circumstances under which he had voted for the Oregon Bill, believing that it was important to organize that remote territory by an act of our government.

On one occasion when we were about to open our debate at an important point I was met a mile or two from the place by a large body of gentlemen mounted on horseback, who acted as an escort up to the place where the discussion was to take place. Before the debate opened Mr. Yancey and I were seated in pleasant conversation, when he said to me : " Mr. Hilliard, shall we have a friendly debate to-day ? " I replied : " Mr. Yancey, I must mention your vote on the Oregon question ; I cannot overlook it to-day."

The result of this canvass was the full vindication of my views on the relation of the South to the general government. The elections that followed this protracted debate showed a decided ascendancy for the Whig party. From the commencement of the discussions between Mr. Yancey and myself the two candidates for Congress stood aside, and were never present, but the gentleman brought out by the Whig party was elected.

Mr. Yancey was in every way an extraordinary man. Of great intellect, high culture, commanding presence, great magnetism, and powerful in debate, especially before the people, he belonged to that class of statesmen who held extreme Southern views of the government, known by the popular phrase "fire-eaters." He believed with Mr. Calhoun that the powers of the general government should be limited, and insisted that the States were sovereign, united under a league, rather than forming a part of the government, whose authority, under the provisions of the Constitution, covered them. I regarded him as the most powerful advocate of the Southern-rights doctrine to be found in the whole country; and in his appeals to the people, when he stood before them on the platform, he was thought by many to be irresistible.

Opening his speeches in a manner that was courteous and pleasing, exhibiting nothing of the latent passions of his nature, as he advanced in his argument he not only presented great intellectual force in the statement of his propositions, but he exhibited a vehemence unsurpassed in our country since the time of Patrick Henry.

A great occasion for the display of Mr. Yancey's power as a tribune of the people was at the commercial convention of the Southern States, held in Montgomery, Alabama, a short time before secession occurred,—the last of such meetings ever held in the South. Every Southern State had a full representation, and some of the ablest statesmen came to participate in its action. Mr. Calhoun, a son of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, was chosen president of the convention, and presided with great fairness and dignity. General Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, then in the full ardor of his course, in vindication of the Southern policy as defined by its great exponent, the late John C. Calhoun, was present, and made a speech of great interest. Hon. Wm. Ballard Preston, of Virginia, who had been Secretary of the Navy under President Taylor, was

also present. Hon. Mark A. Cooper, Judge Lochrane, and other leading men were there from Georgia.

The scene was a brilliant one ; a very large building had been prepared for the accommodation of the convention. The great body of delegates represented the whole South ; there were visitors from distant points, and the seats were crowded with ladies who felt as deep an interest in political affairs as the friends of contending statesmen in England did when those of the highest rank thronged the hustings.

A leading journalist from Charleston made a report from the committee appointed to review the state of the country, and to recommend some general action on the part of the Southern States in defence of the interests of their people. In that report he expressed extreme views, and represented the South as holding its place in the Union under subjugation to the North, and incapable of controlling the action of our government.

At the conclusion of the report I rose and made a speech in opposition to its statements and its recommendations. I stated at full length my views of the true course for the South to pursue. I argued that the highest statesmanship was demanded at this exigency to guide the deliberations of the Southern people ; their honor, their fortunes, their destiny, were all at stake. In regard to slavery, the whole civilized world was against us ; we were protected by the Constitution, and we could feel to-day the spray of the dashing billows as they broke against those barriers that were our strong defence. I differed widely with gentlemen who were preparing the people of the South for the disruption of the Union.

I opposed the policy of sectional agitation ; it was unstatesmanlike ; it was inconsistent with the principles of American government ; government could not be administered upon that theory.

It seemed to be the aim of some gentlemen who aspired

to the leadership of the South, to win their laurels by rousing our people into resistance to the government—the grandest political structure ever reared,—as the aspiring Ephesian applied the torch to the splendid temple of Diana to immortalize his name.

Mr. Yancey rose to inquire if my remarks were intended for him. I replied that without the slightest desire to overlook the conspicuous place which the gentleman held in the public eye, I must be permitted to say, when there were so many distinguished representatives of the South present to-day, I could not be supposed to single out Mr. Yancey as the sole representative of the statesmen who were urging sectional views upon the people.

To inflame the people of a section against the government would involve consequences which no man could foresee, and if a conflict should follow I did not know where to look for the Horatii to defend the gates of Rome against the overwhelming invasion of the Albans.

I expressed my indignation at the idea of presenting the South to the civilized world in an attitude of inferiority to the North. The South might, in the spirit of Marmion, who in the castle of Douglas denounced that haughty chieftain in vehement terms when he sought to lower his claims to consideration as the representative of England, repel the charge with indignant scorn.

It was time to uphold the South as the peer of the North in all that constitutes the greatness of a people, our true policy as well as our patriotic course was to regard ourselves as Americans, and uphold at home and abroad the great standard of the republic.

Mr. Yancey replied to my speech with one of great ardor, taking extreme ground in his support of the ideas expressed in the report, and expressing the opinion that the time had come when the heart of the South should be fired that it might act with promptness when the crisis came to sever its connection with the Union, and

organize an independent government for itself. He exhibited great strength in the statement of his views, and rose to the height of his oratorical power, impressing them upon the audience. He continued to speak until the hour of adjournment. The next day he took the floor and continued his argument from time to time until the adjournment of the convention, affording me no opportunity to reply to his great and impressive speech.

The personal relations between Mr. Yancey and myself continued good up to the day of his death. We differed widely still. But identified with different parties we always appreciated each other. Mr. Yancey's convictions were deep, strong, sincere, and he had the courage of his convictions. It was because he believed that the safety of the South depended upon a vigorous assertion of its rights at all hazards, involving even the subversion of the Union, that when he addressed the people the ardor of his patriotism flamed up with volcanic energy and splendor.

In reviewing my intercourse with public men which brought me into relations with a great number of them, sometimes in sympathy, and sometimes in antagonism, I recall no one who made a greater impression upon me than the Hon. William L. Yancey.

Notwithstanding the adoption of the compromise measures, it was observed that the question of slavery was still a source of political agitation at the North, while at the South the Democratic party was divided. The conservative men of the party, who hoped still to maintain the relations of the South to the Union undisturbed, were called "Union Men," while those holding different views, and adhering to Mr. Calhoun's line of policy to maintain the right of a State to secede from the Union whenever its rights were infringed by the general government, were called "Southern-Rights Men." The Whig / party of the South never swerved from its loyalty to the

Union ; but a large body of Whigs of the North were opposed to the fugitive-slave law, and were still determined to prevent the extension of slavery by an act of Congress.

Such was the state of the country when the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. Hon. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, a statesman who held opinions on the subject of slavery satisfactory to the South, was nominated for President. Hon. William R. King, of Alabama, one of the purest and truest statesmen in the country, was nominated for Vice-President.

The platform adopted by the Convention gave satisfaction to the Democratic party throughout the country. It declared resistance to "all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made"; and also a determination to "abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the last Congress, the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included."

The nomination for President and Vice-President made by the Convention was recognized at once as one of great strength. General Pierce had been distinguished during his service in the Senate for his conservative statesmanship, and exhibited admirable personal qualities. His appearance was attractive, and his manners won friends for him everywhere.

Mr. King, during his long service in the Senate, had secured the confidence of gentlemen of all parties, and his fine sense and fairness made him the choice of the Senate as its presiding officer.

The Whig Convention assembled at Baltimore, June 16, 1852. I had been appointed a member of the Convention, but declined to attend its session. The Convention had before it for consideration the claims of Mr. Webster, President Fillmore, and General Scott. It continued in session six days, and it required fifty-three ballotings to

select a candidate for the presidency. On the fifty-third ballot General Scott received the requisite majority and was declared the nominee of the Whig party.

Honorable William Graham, of North Carolina, was nominated for Vice-President. The platform affirmed the binding character of the compromise measures in these words :

“That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, commonly known as the compromise or adjustment acts (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included), are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a final settlement, in principle and substance, for the subjects to which they relate, and so far as these acts are concerned we will maintain them and insist on their strict enforcement until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency, but carrying out the requirements of the Constitution ; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions just settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however made ; and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.”

The nomination of General Scott for the presidency ought to have been acceptable to the whole country. General Scott's splendid and important services in the field were recognized everywhere ; those who knew him personally comprehended, too, that his attainments as a statesman and his fine personal qualities eminently fitted him for the presidency.

Mr. Graham was a gentleman of great respectability, whose character as a statesman had won for him the confidence of the country. But unhappily the course of a great number of the Northern friends of General Scott put him at a great disadvantage before the country and

deprived him of the support of the great body of Whigs of the South. Seventy delegates from the States of Maine, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and California, who had voted for General Scott as the candidate, voted against that part of the platform which affirmed the binding character of the compromise measures.

I decided, however, in view of all the circumstances—the state of the country, the importance of maintaining the unity of the Whig party, and with my personal relations with General Scott,—to advocate his claims to the presidency, which I did with energy from time to time before the people.

An event occurred in Washington which affected the whole country profoundly, and for a moment arrested the movement of parties. Henry Clay died June 29, 1852, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Eulogies were pronounced at meetings held in honor of the deceased statesman throughout the United States.

I was invited by the people of Montgomery to deliver an oration in honor of Mr. Clay. An immense concourse assembled, and in the presence of a number of eminent men of Alabama I delivered an oration, presenting the great events of his career and expressing my estimate of him as a statesman.

The opening paragraph was as follows :

“ Pericles, in his oration over those Athenians who had first fallen in the Peloponnesian War, declared it to be a debt of justice to pay superior honors to men who had devoted their lives in fighting for their country.

“ What honors, then, are due to one who devoted his whole life to the service of his country ; who did not reserve his heroism for a single impetuous act of self-sacrifice, but who, in his early manhood, consecrated himself to the Republic ; who, throughout a long career, was identified with its glory ; whose declining days were irradiated with a sunset glow of patriotism,

and whose heart flamed, up to the last moment of his earthly existence, with the great passion of his life? It becomes us to bring our noblest offerings to him who thrice saved the Republic; who rose above a horizon yet glowing with the expiring lights of the Revolution, and for half a century shed the splendor of a great intellect upon our hemisphere; who, belonging to our times, is regarded with the veneration which we are accustomed to pay to the illustrious men who laid the foundations of the government, and who, though so lately a living actor in the scenes of public life, is already sent to history with an imperishable crown upon his brow."

I said in conclusion :

"In reviewing Mr. Clay's career, the wonder is that he could have failed to become President. The statue of Brutus left out of the procession will awaken inquiry as to the cause. Cromwell is not allowed to rank with the sovereigns of England, although he controlled the country as Protector, and gave the country the wisest and most brilliant administration which it ever enjoyed. Henry Clay, who has impressed his great character upon the institutions of this country, never became its President. But it is perhaps well that he died without reaching that station.

"His immortal words, 'I would rather be right than be President,' will thrill upon the hearts of the statesmen of the country, and animate them to a nobler aim than a mere lust of power.

"They will strive to serve their country, and to bear with them to the grave the consciousness of deserving its honors, even if the laurel should never encircle their brows.

"Mr. Clay's fame is imperishable; no office could have added to its towering grandeur, or have shed upon it any additional lustre. It was becoming that he should die, as he had lived, 'THE GREAT COMMONER.'"

Some three months later Daniel Webster died at Marshfield at the age of seventy years. He was at that time Secretary of State in President Fillmore's Cabinet. His

death made a great impression upon the nation, and its announcement was received with marks of respect and expressions of high consideration throughout the civilized world. The account given of the closing scenes of his life by those who were present is full of interest. He uttered words, with lips soon to be sealed in unbroken silence, that revealed the faith of a Christian: "But, but, thank God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to *light*—rescued it—brought it to *light*." He then began the words of the Lord's Prayer, but after the first sentence, feeling faint, he cried out earnestly: "Hold me up, I do not wish to pray with a faint voice." He was instantly raised a little by a movement of the pillows, and then repeated the whole of the prayer in clear and distinct tones, ending his devotions with these words: "And now unto God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be praise forever and forever! Peace on earth and goodwill to *men—that* is the happiness, the essence—*good-will toward men.*"

Public expressions of respect to the memory of Mr. Webster were paid in the most impressive way throughout the whole country.

In an address which I delivered in Montgomery on the genius and character of Daniel Webster, my opening words were:

"We should read the history of the rise and fall of an empire to little purpose if we failed to discover the causes which produced its prosperity or sapped its strength, and it would be an idle task to recount the events of a great life if we could not comprehend the elements which constituted its greatness.

"When a great man passes away from the world, we review his career, we linger over the grand passages of his life—his adversities and his triumphs; but, while we desire to know what he has performed, we are far more deeply interested in discerning what he has *thought* and what he has *felt*. The external life, whatever may be its splendor, interests less than the

great soul itself. We study great historic periods not merely that we might trace the changing fortunes of a dynasty or the eventful progress of a nation, but we seek to read in the facts spread out before us the philosophy which they teach.

"We follow the hero from the battle-field and the statesman from the Senate-chamber that we may study the man ; we seek to analyze him, and to read the soul which makes him what he really is—which imparts to his life the heroism and the grandeur which the world has discovered and applauded. Nothing interests so much as *character*.

"It is our purpose this evening to exhibit, so far as we can in so brief a period, the character of a great statesman, who, as Clarendon says of the Duke of Buckingham, lately rode in the troubled and boisterous waters of public affairs as admiral, and to present the qualities which, in their grand assemblage, gave him his pre-eminence among the men of our times.

"The traveller who visits the Alps feels his conceptions of the sublime heightened as he beholds that great mountain range lifting its ice-clad summits to the cloud region. The soul, exalted and ennobled, enjoys a glorious communion with Nature.

"But when the glance is turned upon Mont Blanc, standing in solitary grandeur, its head crowned with everlasting glaciers, and towering above all surrounding objects, we recognize it at once as a monarch, peerless amid the colossal forms which stand about it, and unapproachable in its eternal majesty.

"So, in exploring the civil history of our country, when the eye glances along the line of illustrious men who have lived and died in the service of the Republic, it rests upon the form of Daniel Webster as its grand proportions stand out before us against the sky of the past."

After reviewing Mr. Webster's life, I spoke of his last days at Marshfield :

"These last days were as full of solemn grandeur as the light streaming through the stained-glass windows of a cathedral. The statesman is lost sight of ; we see only the man. There are words uttered which disclose the deep religious sentiment that was an element in his nature ; words of trust in God ;

broken utterances as to his rod and his staff supporting the steps about to enter the valley of the shadow of death ; words that tell how much of poetry there was in his heart ; broken lines of Gray's 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard' :

" ' The curfew tolls the knell of parting day ' ;

and a solemn, final leave-taking of the loved ones of his household.

" Then the light faded out of those large, lustrous eyes, and Webster was dead.

" Wherever the tidings spread, the flag of the country drooped. Men were startled in high places and in humble ones ; some wept ; and all who could reach Marshfield went to look upon the dead majesty of the nation, as it lay in the deep, tranquil sleep of death, under the spreading boughs of an immense tree, which had often sheltered its lord when living.

" What a career closed there ! a career far the most brilliant which has been seen in this country.

" We heard of his death as we should have received the intelligence of a national calamity.

" The shock was like that we should experience if we stood by and witnessed the fall of a castle, from whose battlements banners had been flung out, and through whose embrasures artillery had thundered, and at whose base the proudest armaments had perished.

" His last days exhibited all the serene grandeur of his nature. His soul, turning away from the world and its objects, fixed its gaze upon the illimitable future, which spread before it like a shoreless ocean, upon whose tranquil waters the star of Bethlehem threw its tremulous and unearthly lustre.

" His hand recorded his clear and emphatic confession of faith in the Redeemer and in the divine inspiration of the Gospel.

" Those last days—what a glory streams through them—glory not without its shadows !

" The last hours of the life of the dying statesman resembled a gorgeous sunset ; not the going down of a tropical sun in unclouded splendor, but the sun sinking behind the Alps, kindling

upon every mountain peak a blaze of glory, and pouring a flood of golden light upon the clouds which hung their solemn drapery about his dying couch."

General Scott's defeat had been foreshadowed. At the election which occurred November 2, 1852, the Democratic candidates, Pierce and King, were elected by a great majority. They carried twenty-seven States, which gave two hundred and five electoral votes. Scott and Graham, the Whig candidates, carried the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which gave them forty-two electoral votes.

The administration of President Pierce was satisfactory to the country generally, and was warmly supported by the South. In its course two events of national importance occurred.

Upon the settlement of a boundary dispute with Mexico concerning a tract of land bordering on New Mexico and comprising 45,535 square miles, the United States acquired the disputed territory by purchase. The territory acquired by the negotiation comprised part of Arizona and New Mexico.

In January, 1854, Mr. Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported to the Senate a bill for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, two Territories in the region west of Missouri and north of latitude 36°30'.

By this bill the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was repealed, and slavery was relieved from the last restriction; henceforth it was to be admitted wherever those who controlled it thought it could be profitably employed.

Whatever may be thought of the merits of the Missouri Compromise Act, which had so long been recognized as an adjustment of a great controversy, its repeal was to the last degree impolitic. In the Senate a great debate preceded the adoption of the measure, in which Chase of

Ohio, Everett and Sumner of Massachusetts, Seward of New York, Fessenden of Maine, and even Southern men—Houston of Texas and Bell of Tennessee—vigorously opposed it. But it was finally carried by a vote of nearly two to one; the whole influence of the administration having been given to its support. In the House it was strenuously opposed, and Mr. Benton, of Missouri, who then held a seat as a representative from that State, was conspicuous in the leadership of those who sought to defeat the measure; but it passed the House. It became a law on the last day of May. It is impossible to overstate the excitement, rising into indignation, that was aroused in the non-slaveholding States by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act. It was the breaking down of a great barrier, against which sectional feeling and party passion had so long beat in vain.

The Free-Soil party assumed great proportions, and took the name of Republican—a name destined to attract to it great numbers of men who had hitherto refused to take part in an organization against slavery. This party drew to it a large following from the Whigs of the North, and it obtained a considerable accession from the Democratic party.

For the first time in the history of the country a powerful party appeared in the field, declaring its hostility to an institution existing in the Southern States, which was so formidable as to threaten the existence of the government.





CHAPTER XXIV.

Political Movements in 1856—American National Convention, February 22d—Democratic National Convention, June 2d—Republican National Convention, June 17th—Canvass for Mr. Fillmore—Reception at Huntsville—Debates with Hon. L. P. Walker—Speech at Huntsville—Mass-Meeting at Atlanta—Hon. B. H. Hill—Presidential Election—President Buchanan's Administration—Oration at the University of Virginia Commencement, 1859—Hon. William C. Preston.

EVENTS occurred in 1856 which disclosed the purpose of political leaders to conduct a canvass for the presidency of unprecedented activity and energy.

The disastrous defeat of General Scott convinced the leaders of the Whig party that the people would not entrust the government to their hands.

In the non-slaveholding States the Republican party had already received large accessions from the Whigs, who were hostile to the adjustment of the slavery question which had been adopted in Congress. It was believed by the friends of the Whig party that it could no longer achieve national triumphs under its honored standard, and they were unwilling to display it in the field where it would be upheld only by a few loyal supporters, proud of its traditions.

Those who were still national in sentiment, and were not in sympathy with the anti-slavery feelings of the North, and condemned its sectional policy, entered a new organization, called the American party, which soon grew into great proportions, and became formidable in its political movements.

The Democratic party maintained its organization, and presented a steady front in support of the compromise measures throughout the country.

The American party held a National Convention at Philadelphia, February 22d ; and after adopting a platform virtually recognizing the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and approving the fugitive-slave law, nominated Millard Fillmore for President, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee, for Vice-President. It was the hope of the Convention that the well-known statesmanship of Mr. Fillmore, and the confidence which was felt throughout the United States in his integrity, would draw to his support large numbers from other organizations. The close relationship of Mr. Donelson to General Andrew Jackson, suggested his nomination for the vice-presidency, and it was believed that his name would give great strength to the ticket. Holding its convention on the 22d of February, the anniversary of Washington's birthday, it was believed would revive memories that would strengthen the national sentiment throughout the country, and help the new party to rally to its standard many old Whigs.

The Democratic National Convention met at Cincinnati, on the 2d of June, and proceeded at once to reaffirm the platform which it had adopted in 1852, with the addition of resolutions condemning the principles of the American party, recognizing the Kansas-Nebraska Act, including the repeal of the Missouri compromise line as the only safe solution of the slavery question, and affirming the duty of upholding the rights of the States, and of maintaining the Union. It also expressed its approval of the doctrines of the Ostend circular, which looked to the acquisition of Cuba from Spain. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was nominated for President, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. No names in the ranks of the Democratic party could have been selected that would have found more favor with the people.

Mr. Buchanan, in his long career, had earned a great reputation as a statesman of a high order. He was recognized as a link between the really great men of a period just gone by, and those of the present time. Mr. Breckinridge had won a splendid reputation in his brief service in the House of Representatives; he had been offered the mission to Spain by President Pierce, but declined it. This great party displayed statesmanship and patriotism in the policy which it announced to the people of the United States, when it sent its candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency to the field.

The Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia, June 17th, and adopted a platform declaring: "The maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States shall be preserved"; and that "the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery." After this declaration of its principles the Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the presidency, and General John C. Fremont, of California, was nominated. Hon. William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice-President. General Fremont had been distinguished for his enterprise, and really rendered important service to the country in his explorations in the West. Mr. Dayton was a senator from New Jersey, distinguished for his abilities and high character.

Such was the aspect of the political field in the summer of 1856. All the parties were active in the canvass that followed. Throughout the whole country great energy was displayed by political leaders.

I entered into the canvass for Mr. Fillmore with energy.

I recognized him as a Whig, trusted and honored, and I felt bound by the traditions of the great party which we both had served previously, to present him to the people, as entitled to their confidence and consideration.

I had never made a political speech in North Alabama, and I had intended, when the appropriate time came, to visit that part of the State. There is a beautiful valley extending from Huntsville to Florence, occupied by a people of the highest order; planters of wealth, culture, and hospitality, who gave their support to the Democratic party. I published a notice of several appointments, extending from Huntsville to Florence, and invited the Honorable L. P. Walker, who was on the Buchanan electoral ticket, to meet me in debate. I was to deliver my first speech in Florence, but in proceeding to that place I took the railway for Huntsville.

Upon my arrival at Huntsville I was surprised to be met at the station by a number of gentlemen of both political parties, who gave me a generous welcome. Governor Chapman, with whom I had served in Congress, with other leaders of the Democratic party met me at the station, and received me as the guest of the city. Governor Chapman was an ardent friend of Mr. Buchanan, and a man of intellect and character, and of generous views. A carriage was drawn up at the station to receive Mrs. Hilliard, who accompanied me, and myself; a graceful recognition of me and my public services was made; I observed that the harness of the horses was decorated with small flags. Some of the gentlemen who had met me accompanied us to the residence of a citizen of Huntsville, who received us cordially, and entertained us during our stay with hospitality distinguished for its elegance.

The next day I proceeded to Florence, where I was to open the discussion. General Walker was well known for his abilities and for his attainments, and it was under-

stood that he was formidable and unsparing in a political discussion. In the course of our first debate I observed some disposition on the part of my distinguished opponent to exhibit the qualities which had been attributed to him; and I took occasion promptly to say that if the gentleman supposed that I could be taken at a disadvantage because I appeared for the first time in the presence of those who were assembled to hear us, he would discover that his course was as impolitic as it was ungenerous, and that he would encounter a signal defeat. General Walker immediately rose, and in the most courteous terms disclaimed any purpose on his part to conduct the discussion in any other than in the most friendly way, expressing at the same time his great personal regard for myself.

From that time we addressed the people at the several places at which we touched, and we were heard with interest by the friends of both parties.

The day before we were to meet in Huntsville, which was General Walker's residence, he came to me and said that as I was to have but one opportunity to address the people there, he desired that I should have the amplest time to present my views, and that he would not speak. Assuring him of my appreciation of his courtesy, I accepted his offer.

The next day, when I rose to address the people of Huntsville, I was impressed by the appearance of the audience: gentlemen of both political parties, ladies in great numbers, eminent men, political leaders, were before me. It was a typical Southern assemblage; wealth, culture, and elegance greeted my sight on every side. On my right sat ex-Senator Clemens, a brilliant and distinguished statesman, whose powerful eloquence had often electrified audiences at home and in the Senate.

I delivered a speech entirely national. I presented the claims of the great statesman, in whose cause I spoke, in

terms which I felt confident would win for him generous consideration. On no occasion of my life had I been more conscious of that spirit of free speech which every man has felt who has been in the habit of addressing great audiences, than I was on that day.

Huntsville is in the midst of magnificent scenery, and in the course of my speech I said it sometimes happened that a great man was not fully understood; the exhibitions which he made from time to time were imperfectly seen, and that Mr. Fillmore, to be appreciated, must be seen in his fullest proportions; just as sometimes, when looking out upon the landscape which surrounds this beautiful place, a morning mist shuts out the loftiest peak of a mountain, leaving only its base visible, but when the sun advances in his course and the cloud is lifted, revealing its entire height, it then impresses us with its grandeur and majesty. I proceeded to say that Mr. Fillmore, born in the great State of New York, was a statesman of broad, national views, of exalted character, and of great intellectual power. I was not here to eulogize him, but to present him to these Southern people in his true proportions, and to appeal for him to their support—a support to which he was entitled by his personal qualities, and the services which he had rendered to the whole country.

At the conclusion of my speech I was greeted on all sides with great generosity and warmth.

In taking leave of that beautiful country which I had just visited I was deeply impressed by the high qualities of the people who resided there—hospitable, of high culture, distinguished for elegance. I bore with me a picture of rare beauty, which will never be effaced from my memory.

I had been invited to be present at a mass-meeting to be held in Atlanta by the friends of Mr. Fillmore, where I was to meet a number of distinguished statesmen of Georgia.

When I arrived in the city I was met by Hon. B. H. Overby and became his guest during my stay in the city.

A great number of the people of Georgia had assembled to hear political addresses, which it was understood were to be delivered by several gentlemen. As I ascended the platform I was met by Hon. Benjamin H. Hill, a gentleman known to me personally, who was in full sympathy with my views ; but I had never heard him address the people. I took a seat by his side and had a few moments' conversation with him while preparations were being made.

I was greatly impressed by him, and saw that he was full of grand qualities—qualities which afterwards became so well known to the people of Georgia and of the United States as to give him the highest rank as a statesman.

Looking out above the great mass of the people before us I was exhilarated by the spectacle ; it was such an assemblage as was seen from time to time in those days in Georgia, when her noble, true, generous, patriotic people assembled on political occasions.

It was arranged that I was to deliver the first address to the people, and as I rose and advanced to the front of the platform I was greeted with such cheers as assured me that I had an audience already in sympathy with me. As I proceeded in my speech, which was national and in that tone so well known to the Whigs of the country, exhibiting the objects of the organization which had brought out Mr. Fillmore as a candidate for the presidency, I was encouraged by the enthusiastic applause which broke forth from time to time. At the conclusion of my address the whole assemblage rose to their feet and cheered me with unsurpassed ardor.

Mr. Hill then advanced to deliver his address, and was received with demonstrations of popular favor, which showed how great his sway was at that time over the hearts of the people of Georgia.

His magnificent speech brought out from time to time enthusiastic cheers ; and as I listened to him I comprehended the wealth, power, and grandeur of the nature of this great statesman.

His speech was remarkable for its beauty—ornate, comprehensive, eloquent, and powerful.

In the evening other speeches were made by gentlemen from different parts of the State, and the success of the meeting was great, awakening an ardor in the support of Mr. Fillmore as a candidate for the presidency that had not existed before.

As the canvass advanced it became plain that the American party could not hope for success.

Mr. Buchanan led in the race, and drew to his support the conservative men of the country.

The Republican party developed much strength. It rallied the anti-slavery men of the North to its standard, and the friends of the Constitution saw that the threatening aspect of a sectional party foreshadowed danger for the institutions of the South.

Buchanan and Breckenridge were elected, receiving one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes.

Fremont and Dayton received one hundred and fourteen votes ; demonstrating the growing hostility of the party organized solely for the exclusion of slavery by national legislation from all the territory of the United States where it did not already exist.

Mr. Fillmore received only eight votes. Maryland alone stood for the candidate who had done so much to protect the interests of the South in the adjustment of the great struggle which led to the adoption of the compromise measures.

Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet was composed of statesmen of ability, chosen from the great sections of the Union.

Honorable Lewis Cass was called to the Department of State, and his eminent fitness for the place was recognized

by the people of the whole country. His attainments, his long public service, his character, his comprehensive patriotism,—all entitled him to confidence.

Honorable Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He had served with distinction in Congress, and as Speaker in the House of Representatives he had displayed great abilities and admirable fairness.

Honorable John B. Floyd, of Virginia, a gentleman of fine reputation, and a graduate of the South Carolina College, took charge of the War Department.

Honorable Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, was appointed Secretary of the Navy, a place which he filled efficiently and honorably.

Honorable Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, who had acquired distinction in the House of Representatives, was appointed Secretary of the Interior.

Honorable A. V. Brown, of Tennessee, who had filled creditably several official positions, was made Postmaster-General.

Honorable Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania, whose great abilities had gained for him an eminent place at the bar, was appointed Attorney-General.

Mr. Buchanan's views of the state of the country, frankly stated in his inaugural address, were very satisfactory to the conservative men of the country; and it seemed to me that the South should sustain his administration. The formidable display of strength by the anti-slavery party of the North made it plain that the interests of the Southern people demanded that any differences of sentiment as to other questions should be subordinated to resistance to this threatened aggression upon their rights. I took an early occasion to make my views known, but the currents of party feeling ran with too much strength at that time to enable me to control them. Subsequent events clearly vindicated me, and made it plain that we must present an unbroken front against the powerful or-

ganization that, disregarding the provisions of the Constitution and the rights of the South, threatened to come down upon us with overwhelming force.

The slavery controversy still disturbed the deliberations of Congress, and the legislatures of several of the Northern States, yielding to the pressure of public opinion in opposition to the justice and constitutionality of the fugitive-slave law, passed acts, designed to impede its operation, and to secure to alleged fugitives the right to trial by jury, and to the legal assistance usually given to those charged with criminal offences. These acts were called personal-liberty laws, and found great favor with anti-slavery people.

In the midst of these great disturbances Mr. Buchanan bore himself well in the discharge of the duties of his great office, looking to the light shed upon these questions by the Constitution for guidance, and continued to conduct his administration, hoping to see a vindication of his patriotic statesmanship in good time.

In the summer of 1859 I received an invitation to deliver the annual address at the commencement of the University of Virginia, and I decided to accept it. The occasion was a brilliant one. I saw Charlottesville for the first time with its impressive scenery, associated with historic events, and awakening recollections that roused me.

Monticello, Mr. Jefferson's residence, was at hand, and everything surrounding the university seemed to have been touched and formed by the power of his creative hand.

The chapel was magnificent ; its external form was classical, and its interior constructed with the finest taste.

Some days before my arrival I received a letter from Honorable William C. Preston of South Carolina, who was passing the summer at Charlottesville, in which he urged me to keep my engagement, saying to me : " This great institution fills my imagination."

As I entered the chapel on the day appointed for the delivery of my oration, I observed that I was surrounded by a large and brilliant audience. Behind the stage, and covering the back part of it, was a copy of the great picture, "The School of Athens."

I had selected as a subject for my address "The Spirit of Liberty," and everything about me animated me to the greatest ardor in performing my task.

The opening paragraphs were :

"Upon the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, who poured his countless hosts into Europe that he might subject the only free people on the globe, the Athenians, finding it impossible to defend their state against a combined attack on the land and on the sea, resolved, by the advice of Themistocles, to abandon to the Persian rage their villages, their territory, their walls, their city itself, with the revered tombs of their ancestors ; and to transport their wives and children and aged parents to the isles of Salamis and Ægina and to the opposite Argolic coast ; those who were capable of bearing arms embarked on board the fleets stationed at Salamis, and prepared to meet the powerful Persian armament. Embarking with haste they left behind them their household furniture, their statues, their pictures, and in general the most valuable part of their property, willing to relinquish all for the sake of their country, which, in the language of Alcæus, they knew consisted not in their houses, their lands, and effects, but in that equal constitution of government which they had received from their ancestors, and which it was their duty to transmit unimpaired to posterity. Splendid as Athenian history had been up to that hour, that single act transcended in true patriotism and glory all their previous achievements ; and it was as wise as it was illustrious. The subsequent naval action resulted in the complete, overwhelming, and disastrous defeat of their enemy ; while they returned to their natal shore, now dearer to them than ever, to enjoy the benefits of that constitutional government which they had rescued from the sword of the invader. Europe and Asia met in conflict ; the free and the despotic

systems of the world encountered each other, and the former triumphed.

“ Well does Themistocles deserve that noble tomb which his countrymen constructed for him upon the rocks above the promontory overlooking the sea, where the first object that saluted the eye of the Athenian as he approached his native shore might remind him of the hero, and the glory which he had shed upon his country—

“ ‘ When shall such hero live again ? ’

“ What impelled the Athenians to that sublime act of patriotic sacrifice ? They might have remained at home, have bent their necks to the Persian yoke, and enjoyed, perhaps, increased luxury ; but the recollection of their ancient glory, which they could not leave to see eclipsed, and their love of freedom, made them disdain even golden fetters. They were prompted by the spirit of liberty,—that spirit which loved to dwell in the mountains of Greece, and which has made that fair clime a shrine of the mighty, where the halo of departed glory still lingers,—that spirit which, all over the world, wherever it has made its abode, has kindled in the hearts of men its quenchless fires.

“ Standing upon this spot, looking upon these mountains and these skies, I need offer no apology for making that spirit to-day the subject of discourse. It is a fit subject for the place and the age. . . . Liberty must be protected by well defined principles. Popular rights must depend not on the good disposition of the ruler, but be guarded by fundamental laws which define them ; the boundaries between liberty and power must be clearly traced, and along the frontier of human rights barriers must be set up which tyranny cannot pass over. No political system is a good one which does not confer upon its people both actual freedom and provide for their protection against the encroachments of power. The present and the future claim alike the protection of constitutional law. The Barons of England comprehended this when they ranged themselves at Runnymede against regal power and wrested from King John the great charter, written and sealed, a charter which, in

the language of Lord Lyttleton, did not grant any new rights to the people but asserted their ancient privileges in terms so clear and emphatic that the people of the realm could demand them and defend them ; a charter which protected every individual of the nation in the free enjoyments of his life, his liberty, and his property, unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. But the noblest achievement of the true spirit of liberty and the proudest triumph of regenerated humanity is seen in the Constitution of the United States. . . . A pure democracy, wherever it has displayed itself, whether in ancient states or in modern times, whether under the skies of Greece or upon the soil of France, teaches impressive lessons. History records the crimes committed in the former, and the dread drama of the French Revolution has hardly yet closed ; we can almost hear the tread of the infuriated populace in the streets of Paris, and the voice of maddened thousands uttering the Marseillaise has not yet ceased to peal upon our ears. Licentiousness is not liberty ; a crown in the dust—a broken sceptre and a shattered throne do not ensure freedom. Liberty and law dwell together. The noblest freedom which can be enjoyed is to be found amongst a people who, while they demand protection against aggression, respect the authority which they have themselves established.

“Our Constitution protects by the very stringency of its lines ; it confers power, but it decrees its boundaries ; it grants authority, but it limits it to its true sphere ; it wheels the chariot of the sun through the open heavens, but holds the coursers in check by a strong hand. The fountain of all authority is with the people, but they do not administer the government. The sword is in the hands of the magistrate ; and all must obey. . . . We blend the advantages of a local domestic jurisdiction with the authority of a national power ; a system which, in the opinion of Montesquieu, possesses the internal advantage of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical, government. A confederacy made up of republics, united under a common government of limited powers, clothed with authority to control its external affairs, and leaving to each State the entire management of its domestic interests, is capa-

ble of vast expansion. It may embrace within its ample compass States differing widely in soil and climate, and inhabitants engaged in every variety of pursuits, and possessing the greatest diversity of social systems, agriculture, the mechanic arts, free labor, slave labor, commerce ; all may flourish within it by a faithful adherence to the organic law, which grants and limits the federal power. . . . The South is to-day the weaker section of the confederacy ; the populous North is still growing in numbers ; the tide of immigration setting in upon the West is filling its plains, and building up great cities in the wilderness, all this the South sees, and she witnesses with satisfaction these signs of prosperity outside of her own limits ; but as the numerical strength of other parts of the Union increases, she rouses herself to a prouder attitude, in asserting her rights ; and she insists more earnestly than ever upon a rigid adherence to the organic law of these confederated States. She sees a powerful party organized against her institutions, she cannot be insensible to her danger, but she stands erect and undismayed ; confident yet in the patriotic inspirations of the American people, but more confident still in her own self-respect and courage. Against fanaticism she appeals to the spirit of liberty, that spirit which, rebuking the madness of lawless violence, spreads in our defence the ægis of the Constitution, a shield ample enough for the protection of all our rights. . . .

“The domestic institutions of the South are denounced, her property is threatened, an effort is made to turn the sentiment of the country against her system of labor, and to bring it under the ban of the government, and the legitimate objects of statesmanship are overlooked. When a higher law than the Constitution is invoked on one side, it is not to be wondered at that revolution is foreshadowed on the other. When it is deliberately announced that the confederacy blends two antagonistical systems of civilization, and that the one or the other must give way, it must be expected that those against whom this crusade is projected, will put themselves in an attitude to repel it. All this must cease, and the country must be rescued from this boundless agitation. Our statesmen must come up

to the standard, which the state of the country demands. The rivalry of geographical sections will then become a generous rivalry. New England may boast of her varied civilization, and thriving industry; she may glory in the sufferings and virtues of the Pilgrim fathers, and gathering her sons at Plymouth Rock recall the *Mayflower* with its precious freight, but the South will revisit the ruins of Jamestown, and cherish the memory of that noble band, who, in the face of every discouragement and danger, first planted a stable colony upon this virgin land; rejoicing in her exhaustless resources, and the stability and prosperity of her domestic institutions, she will contribute her full share to the power and glory of the Republic.

"The North may rejoice in the eloquence of her living sons, and send us her Everett, who is winning immortality by his splendid tribute to the memory of the father of his country; as Isocrates earned his by the panegyric upon Athens; and the South will place by his side the form of her own Preston, whose fame culminated in the Senate, and still sheds its serene glory upon us.

"The North may raise monuments over the ashes of her dead heroes and statesmen; Warren's form she may perpetuate in marble, and visit the tomb of Webster at Marshfield, where the sea rolls its sublime dirge, as if it lamented the departed statesman. In the same spirit the South will honor her illustrious dead, their forms shall adorn her venerated places, and calling around her all her sons she will lead them to the banks of the Potomac, where the foremost man of all the world rests, and gathering annually fresh garlands will heap them upon the tomb which bears the name of Washington. . . ."

I met Mr. Preston at dinner, and enjoyed a conversation with him which brought out memories and rekindled sympathies covering the years that had intervened since our last meeting; his broken health had not impaired the vigor of his intellect, nor dimmed the splendor of those faculties which gave such a charm to his conversation. I had for some time read law in his office in Columbia, and

he contributed much to the accomplishment of the aspirations awakened under his generous instructions.

In the evening we entered a carriage where two of the ladies of Mrs. Carrington's family, nearly related to him, were seated. Our road led us through the glorious mountain scenery which surrounds Charlottesville; we came to a turn in the road which displayed a landscape of uncommon loveliness, in which earth and sky were blended, and he uttered, in tones which revealed the depths of his emotions, the lines of Beattie:

"A warbling woodland, the resounding shore;
The pomp of groves, the garniture of fields;
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,
And all that echoes to the song of even;
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of heaven."

Never in the storms of political life, never amidst the vexations of every-day life did I know him to be other than generous, noble, and true; never bringing down the unsullied purity of a grand and elevated nature, to the dust and defilement of the meaner ways of life. The smaller objects of ambition never lured him. He was not one upon whom office could confer dignity; he felt that in private life he was as exalted as when he sat a senator in the midst of that splendid constellation of great men who were his contemporaries.

I was at one time authorized by a President of the United States, with whom my relations were intimate and confidential, to offer him the mission to France; he promptly declined it, in such terms too as even to heighten my respect for him; and Mrs. Preston, that beautiful and noble woman, who was present, acquiesced perfectly in his decision, stating her objections to the proffered post with matchless grace, and basing them mainly upon Christian principle. The crowning glory of his life was the pure, humble, yet fervent faith in the Son

of God, which those who knew him well could so clearly discern in him. This threw an indescribable brightness over his last years, as the summer sun sometimes gilds with his level rays the summit of a great mountain, upon whose side a shadow already rests, almost shutting from view its glories of rock and verdure, while in that last lingering smile of a departing day, the foliage which crowns that summit, blazes with undiminished lustre to the last.

In taking leave of Mr. Preston, I had hoped to meet him the next year at his home in Columbia, but I never met him again.





CHAPTER XXV.

Political Events of 1860—Democratic National Convention at Charleston ; at Baltimore—Democratic National Convention at Richmond ; at Baltimore—Constitutional Union Convention at Baltimore—Republican National Convention at Chicago—Canvass—Great Meeting in Cooper Institute, New York—Speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston—Edward Everett—Speech at Utica—Governor Seymour—Speech at Buffalo—Mr. Fillmore—Presidential Election, November 6th—Abraham Lincoln.

THE political agitation throughout the United States rose to a great height. As the time approached for bringing out candidates for the presidency, the anti-slavery sentiment of the North became still more intolerant, and in popular meetings, resolutions proposing aggressive measures against the South were adopted.

The Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, April 23, 1860. It was largely attended ; delegates from the whole country took their seats, a number of them being men of distinction and great influence. Honorable Josiah Randall of Philadelphia, formerly an ardent and influential Whig leader, was present as a representative of the Democratic party of his State. Senator Pugh, of Ohio, was a conspicuous member of the body. Caleb Cushing, a great lawyer and an eminent statesman, was elected President of the Convention.

Honorable William L. Yancey was one of the delegates from Alabama, and attracted from the first marked attention ; his pronounced opinions and vehement utterances against the North were well known. Soon after the or-

ganization of the Convention, a controversy arose on the subject of slavery. A great debate took place, in which a number of distinguished men took part, and when Mr. Yancey took his place on the platform the greatest interest prevailed throughout the body. He delivered one of his great speeches: he described the state of political affairs at the North, and at the South; he dwelt at length upon the growing anti-slavery sentiment in the non-slaveholding States, and denounced the leaders who sought to organize a powerful sectional party which threatened to disregard the Constitution and to subvert the Union by its lawless measures. He then presented the South, exhibiting the States dwelling side by side in perfect harmony, respecting the Constitution, and entering into no combination against any section of the Union; he spoke in exalted terms of the Southern people, their culture, their high tone, the purity of society that constituted a picture of civilization far transcending that to be found elsewhere; he represented the South as it then existed, in all its splendor and wealth and glory, its scholars, its orators, its statesmen, its women,—all adorning the section and imparting to it a matchless charm. All who heard him were moved by his eloquence, and every Southern man rejoiced more than ever before, in the fact that he was descended from a lineage so high, and that he lived in the midst of a people unrivalled for their great qualities.

Mr. Yancey's speech was one of the greatest of his life, and roused into enthusiasm all who were in sympathy with his sentiments, at the same time it impressed deeply those representing other sections of the Union.

I was present at the time, not being a member of the Convention, but having gone to Charleston to witness its proceedings, and I observed the effect made by the speech of the eminent man who lived and breathed for the South.

It was understood that Mr. Yancey was to be followed by Senator Pugh of Ohio as a representative man of his

section. He had won a high reputation by his brilliant speeches, and was distinguished for his ability and his attainments ; when he stood upon the platform to address the audience he was greeted with cheers, and the representatives of the North felt that in that hour they needed a strong man to uphold their cause.

Mr. Pugh's speech was able, statesmanlike, warm, national, and fair ; he made a great impression upon the Convention, and accomplished the task which he had undertaken ; he rallied his party to the support of national ideas, and to the defeat of any resolution sectional in its tone, and proposing measures which would not be supported by the great body of the Democratic party. At the close of a protracted debate the Convention, on April 30th, adopted a platform satisfactory to the national men of the party. The section embodying the views of the Convention in regard to the slavery question was in these words :

“ Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of territorial legislatures, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories ; Resolved that the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.”

The platform was adopted by a vote of 165 to 138, and immediately the delegates from the South who held extreme views in regard to the question disposed of by this vote withdrew from the Convention. So large a number of the Southern delegates having withdrawn it was decided after full consideration, on May 3d, that the Convention should adjourn to meet at Baltimore on June 18th. Previous to the adjournment a resolution was adopted recommending that the vacant seats be filled prior to that date.

The delegates seceding held a meeting, and adopted a platform which expressed their views clearly, and adjourned, after calling the Convention to assemble at Richmond on June 11th. The part of the platform relating to the slavery question was as follows :

“ That the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary ; and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights either of person or property being destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect when necessary the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends. That when settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, being consummated by admission into the Union ; they stand on an equal footing with people of other States, and the State thus organized should be admitted into the Federal Union whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.”

The Convention which had assembled at Charleston, and from which a large number of delegates had withdrawn, assembled in Baltimore in accordance with its resolution of adjournment, and resumed its deliberations. After some time spent in discussion they proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the presidency ; and Honorable Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was nominated ; Hon. Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was nominated for Vice-President.

Before the balloting was ended a further withdrawal of delegates took place. Mr. Fitzpatrick subsequently declined to accept the nomination for Vice-President, and Honorable Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was nominated for that office.

The Southern gentlemen who had withdrawn from the Charleston Convention met in pursuance of their resolution at Richmond, but decided to adjourn to Baltimore, where they assembled in convention June 23d, and adopted the platform which they had agreed upon at Charleston; they decided to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency who held opinions in accordance with their own. Honorable John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky was nominated for President, and Honorable Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President. These gentlemen subsequently accepted the nomination for these offices.

A great party, organized in the name of the Constitutional Union party, composed of members of the Whig party and of the American party, decided to bring into the field statesmen of the highest order as candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. The leaders of the party were men distinguished for statesmanship, for breadth of view, for attachment to the Union, and were moved by a great desire to rescue the country from the slavery agitation. They believed that neither of the contending parties could accomplish that result and restore peace to the Union. This party held its National Convention at Baltimore, May 9th, and nominated for President John Bell of Tennessee, and for Vice-President Edward Everett of Massachusetts. These were men in whom the people of the country could put their trust. Mr. Bell had been long in the public service—Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary of War in the Cabinet of General Harrison, and a member of the United States Senate from the State of Tennessee for years; his political opinions were conservative, and his intellectual force was such as to give him a commanding position in the Senate at that time.

Mr. Everett was distinguished for his intellect, for the purity of his character, for the breadth of his statesman-

ship, and for his attainments, which had attracted attention at home and abroad.

This party, assembled in convention, proposing to avoid a statement of opinions that might bring it into collision with other parties upon mere details, decided to adopt no other platform than a recognition of certain great principles which they believed were essential to the safety and prosperity of the whole country. The platform adopted declared that the party recognized "no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, Union of the States, and the enforcement of laws."

The Republican party represented the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and was composed of men holding extreme opinions. Some of these chief leaders, asserting their purpose to exclude slavery from every part of the country which could be reached by the action of the general government, held its National Convention at Chicago May 16th. A great struggle followed between the friends of the several aspirants to the presidency. Mr. Seward was strongly supported, and it was believed that he would secure the nomination. Mr. Lincoln had a large following, and his friends contended vigorously for his nomination.

Finally, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was nominated for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President.

The platform adopted by the Convention expressed in the strongest terms its hostility to slavery and its purpose to prevent its extension beyond the limits of the States where it already existed. That part of the platform relating to slavery was as follows :

"That the maintenance of the principle promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, 'that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among

men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,' is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions ; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend ; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes. That the new dogma, that the Constitution of its own force carry slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy at variance with the explicit directions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent ; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country. That the normal condition of all the territory in the United States is that of freedom ; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that ' no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it ; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

The several parties having brought their candidates for the presidency into the field, proceeded to appeal to the people of the country for their support. Mass-meetings were held, which were addressed by leading men, who expounded the opinions which they represented, and presented the claims of the candidates upon the people in language which aroused them, in many places, into great excitement.

I was passing the summer at the North, having been some time with my family at Saratoga Springs, and later,

coming to the city of New York, where I took apartments at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

The conservative men in the city of New York decided to hold a meeting which should be addressed by gentlemen supporting the claims of the several candidates for the presidency opposed to Mr. Lincoln. I was honored with an invitation to deliver a speech on the occasion, and accepted it. They believed that the state of the country required the concentration of public sentiment against the sectional party that seemed to be making great progress in the non-slaveholding States.

A call for a meeting of the people to adopt measures for an organization of the friends of the Union in Cooper Institute was announced for the 17th of September, 1860. I have before me a New York *Herald*, published Tuesday, September 18th, which gives an account of the meeting. The notice of the meeting is headed :

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

THE MONSTER MEETING LAST NIGHT.

COOPER INSTITUTE AND ALL THE SURROUNDING STREETS
CRAMMED WITH PEOPLE.

THE GREATEST DEMONSTRATION EVER HELD IN THE
UNITED STATES.

THIRTY THOUSAND VOTERS EN MASSE.

NEW YORK WIDE-AWAKE.

SPLENDID DISPLAY OF THE MINUTE-MEN OF THE UNION.

BRILLIANT TORCHLIGHT AND PYROTECHNIC DISPLAY.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE UNION.

“Cooper Institute and the surrounding district was last evening a scene of immense excitement, and a degree of public enthu-

siasm rarely equalled. From an early hour in the afternoon large crowds began to assemble about the building watching the active preparations which were in progress for the great national demonstration of the day. Rostrums and stands were erected in front of the Institute, and flags and banners bearing patriotic devices were suspended all around. It is scarcely necessary to say that the attraction was the grand national mass-meeting announced to be held by all the friends of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws, and all who are opposed to black Republicanism, and to its sectional and blood-thirsty doctrines. The national sentiment was thoroughly aroused in the minds of the masses, and the people congregated in great numbers to show their devotion to constitutional principles, and to the Union and perpetuity of the States. . . .

"Cooper Institute was filled even to suffocation. The idea of a crowded building is generally an indistinct one to convey to those who do not actually witness the appearance of the multitude; but the largest crowd that ever assembled in one place in this city is as nothing to the overwhelming masses which crowded the ground-floor, corridor, portals, and even the windows, of this well-known and capacious institution last night. At a quarter past seven the house was full; at half past it was crowded to repletion; at a quarter to eight the side windows were thrown open to the public, and at eight o'clock, the hour fixed for the beginning of the proceedings, the people were packed together as grains in a keg of gunpowder.

"The splendid band of the New York Seventh Regiment was in attendance, and discoursed very beautiful music during the evening.

". . . Gen. F. A. Tallmadge called the meeting to order in a very brief speech, in which he introduced Joshua J. Henry, Esq., as presiding officer. Mr. Henry delivered a patriotic speech which was received with great applause. Vice-presidents were chosen from the other States of the Union. From the metropolis a number were chosen, and in the list the following names appear: General Winfield Scott, William B. Astor, James Gordon Bennett, John J. Cisco, William F. Havemeyer, Wilson G. Hunt, John A. Dix, Moses Taylor, Charles O'Connor,

Daniel Drew, Henry Grinnell, Lewis A. Sayre ; the list is a very long one, and the gentlemen named were men of great influence, who desired to advance the prosperity of the whole country. A number of secretaries were appointed. . . ."

The names were received with tremendous applause, especially those of General Winfield Scott, and three other gentlemen immediately following. The nominations were unanimously approved. After the band had played "Yankee Doodle," Mr. Eli P. Morton read a series of resolutions in a loud and distinct voice, the people breaking in with tremendous applause at various points ; the resolutions were then put and carried, *nem. con.* The chairman then said : " I have the honor to present to you this evening as the first speaker his Honor, Fernando Wood." Mayor Wood's appearance was greeted with the heartiest demonstrations of applause. When order was restored Mr. Wood proceeded to deliver a speech of great interest, distinguished for statesmanship and patriotic ardor. Seated by my side on the platform was ex-Governor Moorehead of Kentucky, a personal and political friend, with whom I had served for years in Congress. It had been arranged that we should both address the meeting, and at the conclusion of Mr. Wood's address I was introduced by the chairman, and delivered a speech which was reported in full in the *New York Herald*, and from which I quote several paragraphs. I said :

" Gentlemen, we are in the midst of great events. At peace with all nations—far removed from the complications of European politics—we ought to enjoy profound tranquillity, and yet a widespread apprehension of coming troubles fills the public mind. The whole aspect of public affairs is threatening ; heretofore party struggles and party triumphs haven risen and passed away without disturbing the action of the government, and immediately after the most exciting political con-

test a calm has succeeded as deep as that which overspreads the sea when the tempest has spent its rage and the billows ceased to lash the shore. But the contest now going on is not an ordinary canvass; it wears an aspect of far higher significance, and more momentous results lift themselves to view in the background. Bodies of men—disciplined, drilled, marching to the sound of martial music, bearing not arms as yet, but torches—tread the streets of this great national emporium, and range their columns under the very shadow of the statue of Washington. What men were they? They called themselves Republicans, but they have lost the last element of that principle; they are truly sectional men. [Applause.] For what purpose are they trained? Against what enemy are they to march? One sentiment inflames the whole body. They are banded together for one purpose. They hate the South, and they will seek to overthrow the institutions of the South. At this moment an extraordinary number of citizens of the Southern States are in New York; they fill the hotels, they throng the streets, they are seen in your great trading establishments; they come with the confidence of a kindred people to visit and trade with a kindred people. [Applause.] And yet torches borne by men who denounce their institutions, and seek to turn all the power of a common government against them, glare upon them at midnight, and the tread of disciplined battalions shakes the very paving stones as they march in their training to prepare for a resistless assault upon the rights and the honor of our section. [Loud applause.] What other object can they have in view? It is said that they desire to exclude slavery from the Territories, when there is not a Territory open to it to-day. Their object lies far beyond that—they intend to crush out slavery in the States where it exists. They proclaim through the lips of their great leader ‘the irrepressible conflict’; they intend to trample the Constitution under their feet, and to spread devastation through the slaveholding States. Their war-cry is as furious as that which was thundered by the legions which marched under banners upon which were inscribed the words: ‘*Delenda est Carthago.*’ This distinguishes the present presidential canvass from any that has

preceded it. A powerful and dangerous sectional organization—it is not a party, having no singular legitimate principles to hold it together,—a formidable league threatens to seize the government, and to turn all its perverted powers against another section, and every interest in the country begins to feel the shock of the convulsion. [Applause.] Against such a league—a league so fierce, so baseless, so reckless, and so dangerous—every man in whose breast the instincts of patriotism are not utterly dead ought to range himself in the order of battle, as in Rome the fiercest dispute between the Patricians and the Plebeians could be stilled by hearing the common enemy thundering at the gates of the city. The common enemy thunders at the gate to-night. Let us close our quarrels. [Applause.] I appeal to the honesty, the independence, and the patriotism of the people of this country to defeat the grand army of our enemies. [Applause.] . . .

“This is the anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It has hardly yet numbered the years of a man’s life—and now it covers with its sheltering sanctity a mighty people, dwelling between the two great oceans of the world, and spreading from the regions where winter enthrones itself, amid frozen lakes and streams, down to the tropics. Feeble colonies have grown to be mighty States—their number almost treble—their wealth boundless—their commerce as wide as the world, and their power transcending that of any nation on the globe. No great political system can work without being subject to occasional disturbance; and the only troubles which the American government has ever experienced have resulted from an attempt to drive it from its true orbit. I do not wish this evening to enter upon an examination of Mr. Seward’s theory of morals. I am not dealing with him as a speculative philosopher, but as a practical statesman, and I do not think it difficult to say that he has wholly misconceived the character of our government. He has the audacity to stand up, a senator of the United States, having sworn to support the Constitution—and to address the American people in language which denounces slavery as a great wrong—a gigantic evil which the government ought to extirpate; he complains that for forty years it has been upon

the wrong track ; and he proposes to reverse the action of the government ; turn it back in its course ; ignore its grand conservative policy, put all its departments into the hands of a sectional league, and bring all its energies to bear against the social system of one half the people of the United States. He deliberately proposes, upon the basis of a speculative moral proposition, to shut out from all participation in the conduct of a common government one whole section, and to subvert the very institutions which that government was organized to protect. But Mr. Seward will not, of course, deny that when the Constitution was adopted nearly every State held slaves—a very deep sensibility in regard to the rights of those who held that kind of property was manifested in the convention which framed it,—and the basis was laid in the very provisions of the Constitution for the representation of slaves by their owners in Congress. A slave-holder, George Washington, presided over the convention, and his was the first hand which signed the instrument. [Applause.] Now I assert that it is wholly impossible to turn the powers of the common government, adopted for the benefit of all the States, against the institutions of any of the States, without an utter perversion of the true objects of that government, without a violation of the Constitution, and without inflicting a great wrong, to which a brave and spirited people ought not to submit, and to which the Southern people will never submit, until Revolutionary blood has died in their veins, and Revolutionary memories perished in their hearts. If Mr. Seward hopes to obtain tranquillity in that way, the hope is a vain one. You may as well seek to repress the internal fires of the earth by heaping mountains upon them ; sooner or later they will heave whatever oppresses them, and flame up to heaven. . . .

“Now, Mr. Seward proposes to reverse the whole policy of the government, and to proclaim hostility to slavery everywhere. The South sees this mighty organization spreading its battalions all through the Northern and Northwestern States. She hears the tramp of men mustering to the overthrow of her institutions. But she stands undismayed, confident yet in the patriotic instincts of the American people, confident in the

North. She rejoices in the increasing wealth and power of a kindred people, she witnesses your rapid advancement, your wonderful growth, with just pride, and she bids you go on in your course of expansion and civilization; she sees your splendid cities with hearty satisfaction, and glories in your commerce which bears the flag of the republic to the remotest seas of the globe; she is content with her own lot; she asks no special legislation for her benefit; all that she demands is a full participation in the benefits of a common government, a full recognition of her rights, and a clear vindication of her honor. [Loud applause.] Wronged, degraded, excluded from the full benefit of her own government, she will never consent to be, nor will she suffer her institutions to be brought under the ban of that government. When we survey the wide picture of national power and glory and happiness that spreads out before us, we can hardly repress our indignation against those wild and wicked agitators who seek to destroy it; and we exclaim in the language of Milton's nervous and earnest prayer against the enemies of the people of England: 'Leave us not a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flocks; these wild boars that have broken into thy vineyard and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants! O let them not bring about their wicked designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the birds of morning sing.' [Loud and repeated applause.]

"This is a grand struggle between Nationalism and Sectionalism. The very existence of the Union is involved in it; men of extreme opinions seek to grasp the reins of government, and if they succeed they will plunge the country into irretrievable ruin. They must be put down. National men—statesmen who stand by the Constitution, and love the Union, and desire to see the laws enforced,—they must be sustained, and to their hands we must commit the government. Rash men of sec-

tional views cannot govern this great country. A perfect illustration of what would follow is found in the classics. Phæton desired but for one day to drive the chariot of the sun ; he seized the reins in his feeble hands, the wild steeds flew from their accustomed track. The universe was threatened with destruction, and not till a bolt flew from the uplifted hand of Jupiter, hurling the impetuous driver from his seat, could order be restored to nature. Better far to keep rash, sectional, incompetent men out of the seat of power, than risk the task to the aroused majesty of the American people of restoring order and hurling them from their places. [Applause.] . . .

“To take candidates now from one section, to proclaim war against another section, to denounce the institutions of co-ordinate States—this is the issue before the country, this is the policy exhibited to our view ; and it has never till now threatened to take control of the government. If they come into power it will be the beginning of the end ; this government cannot be administered upon that plan. The day that witnesses the election of Mr. Lincoln, if that calamity is to be visited upon us, will witness a convulsion which shakes the institutions of this country to their deepest foundation. [Tremendous enthusiasm.] Public confidence will expire, stocks will go down, property of every description will fall suddenly in value, commerce will feel the shock as if a storm had swept the sea and rent the sails of mighty ships, and this grand republican system, this glorious confederacy of free and powerful States, seated in friendly alliance upon a continent over which the gorgeous ensign of the Republic streams to-day, the symbol of peace, of union, and of strength, rocked as under the throes of an earthquake. The mariner can discover with his practised eye the sign of the rising tempest, and even far in upon the land a bird is sometimes seen flying before the fury of the coming storm which threatens to sweep its billowy home ; and I do not doubt that men of experience, sweeping the horizon with their glasses, begin even now to read the signs of danger in some of those aspects which the times disclose to their view, while they escape the notice of a casual observer. I have always been for the Union—I am for the Union to-day ; but the best

friends of the Union may be overwhelmed, as a faithful helmsman is sometimes driven from his post by the fury of a resistless tempest. Gentlemen, stand up for the Union. [The whole mass here rose with a common impulse and cheered right lustily.] Let us put down now and forever sectional men ; they exult in the hope of victory ; they spread their fierce legions all about us, as Leslie's army shut in Cromwell ; let us, like that grand old Christian soldier, rise in our impetuous strength and cut their lines to pieces. The Union must be preserved. Glorious objects lie before us ; our destiny as a nation is not yet fulfilled. [Loud applause.] Let us accomplish the grand and beneficent objects of our destiny. . . .

" Upon you, gentlemen of the State of New York, depends everything at this crisis ; do not be dismayed by the magnitude of the task which lies before you ; think of your vast strength ; think of the glory which will crown you if, meeting the surging billows which have just broken over the State of Maine, you say to them : ' Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.' [Renewed applause.] It is glorious to see great strength displayed in the beneficent work of saving, and not destroying. You can save a Nation—you can rescue the Republic—you can cover yourselves all over with glory. The Lacedæmonians stood at the Pass of Thermopylæ and died, earning immortality ; they perished because they were feeble ; they counted but hundreds against a host. But you are mighty—you are invincible ; rise to the full grandeur of your position. Friends of the Constitution, friends of liberty, friends of the Republic, rise in the full majesty of your strength and crush the enemies of your country." [Tremendous applause.]

Some days after the great meeting in Cooper Institute I received an invitation from the conservative men of Boston to deliver a speech in that city on the state of the country.

During my stay in Boston I was the guest of Mr. Edward Everett. He gave me a cordial welcome to his house, and he entertained me in a way to make my visit

one of the most agreeable of my life. His library was large, containing besides a valuable collection of books, works of art, and among them was a life-size marble statue of himself, which had been presented by his friends. I was called on by a number of the leading men of Boston, and it was arranged that I should deliver a speech in Faneuil Hall. Mr. Everett's name was on the ticket for the vice-presidency with Mr. Bell, and he did not accompany me to the hall, but I was escorted by several gentlemen of distinction. A large audience filled the place, so rich in historic associations, and so full of objects recalling patriotic memories.

I delivered a speech in which I described the state of the country, and spoke of the perils which surrounded the government. I presented the claims of the eminent men whose cause I represented in strong terms, and appealed to all who heard me to give another illustration of the attachment of Massachusetts to the Constitution and the Union, by giving them their support. Expressions of great satisfaction were given during the delivery of the speech, and at its conclusion I was greeted with enthusiasm by the whole audience. Among the gentlemen present was Mr. George S. Hillard, that accomplished scholar who had contributed a charming book to the literature of the country, and whose rank at the bar was high; he returned with me to Mr. Everett's residence, and soon after we entered the house a large number of citizens stood in front of it, accompanied by a band of music, who gave us a serenade. Mr. Everett spoke from his balcony, and thanked them for the tribute to myself, and afterwards presented me to them, when I delivered a brief speech.

The next day Mr. Everett invited several eminent gentlemen to meet me at breakfast, among them Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Nathan Appleton, Mr. Ticknor, Mr. Hillard, and others distinguished for their attainments and public services.

When I took leave of Mr. Everett I bore with me a deepened impression of his splendid qualities, and a heightened estimate of him as a man and a scholar.

Upon my return to New York several influential gentlemen called on me, and insisted that I should deliver speeches at some of the important places in the interior of the State. I consented to do so, and they arranged for my reception at the several places indicated.

At Utica I was received in a way that gratified me greatly, and I found on the stage, prepared for the occasion, ex-Governor Seymour, who gave me a warm welcome. After delivering my speech, that eminent man addressed the people in a statesmanlike way, appealing to the people to give their support to men who represented national views and patriotic measures. He denounced sectionalism in severe terms, and insisted that the States should enjoy without molestation their full rights under the Constitution.

Proceeding to other places I delivered addresses, and the Saturday previous to the election I went to Niagara Falls for rest and recreation. The sun had gone down before my arrival ; I heard the thunder of the falls, and, walking out, could see dimly that sublime spectacle unsurpassed by any of the objects of nature. I was alone, and the next morning, in accordance with the suggestion of a friend in New York, I walked out of the hotel, and, turning my steps toward the falls, I did not look up until I reached a certain spot where it was said I would enjoy the most impressive view. Many have attempted to describe their emotions upon seeing Niagara Falls for the first time ; I shall not undertake to do so. Neither language nor art can give an adequate idea of them. I engaged a boat in charge of two strong men and entered it, instructing them to take me across the river that I might enjoy the best view of surrounding objects. The men were much amused by occasional expressions of

appreciation on my part. As the spray fell upon us I remarked: "This is grand." One of the men said: "It is a little too grand." I said a few minutes afterwards that I had never seen the falls before, and that I had come from Alabama that I might get a view of them. One of the men remarked: "You must think a heap of them to come so far to see them." I assented to what he said. I saw Niagara under the most favorable circumstances; the day was fine, and I was alone in the presence of nature in her most sublime form.

On Monday I took the train for Buffalo, and upon reaching there was received by friends who expected my visit.

Mr. Fillmore, my personal and political friend, with whom I had enjoyed an agreeable intercourse for years, called on me and invited me to take tea with him at his residence; I was presented to Mrs. Fillmore, and passed an hour or two in conversation. Mr. Fillmore, since his service as President, had declined to attend public meetings, and therefore did not accompany me to the hall where I was to address the people. It was the evening before the presidential election, when I stood in the presence of a great audience and delivered my speech. It was an earnest appeal to the people to support the candidates of the Constitutional Union party, and I urged them in the great contest about to be decided to stand by the Constitution and the Union. I left at eleven o'clock that night for New York, and reached that city the next day.

Meanwhile the great contest for the control of the government was going on throughout the United States. I soon learned that the Republican party had won the day.

Abraham Lincoln, it was decided, should be the President of the United States.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Effect of Mr. Lincoln's Election upon the Country—Secession of South Carolina—Mississippi—Florida—Alabama—Speech against Secession—Georgia—Speech of Mr. Stephens—Louisiana—Texas—Efforts Made to Arrest the Revolution—Opening of Congress—Mr. Buchanan's Message—Confederate Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861—Provisional Government Organized—Jefferson Davis of Mississippi Elected President—Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President—Mr. Davis Inaugurated February 18th—His Cabinet—Mr. Lincoln Inaugurated March 4th—Mr. Stephens' Speech, March 21st—Fort Sumter—Virginia—Tennessee.

THE result of the presidential election startled the country. The United States at that time presented a splendid picture of national prosperity. Everywhere, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the mountains of New England to the tropical plains of Texas, every interest of the country was being developed. Soon after the election of Mr. Lincoln a dark cloud came over this dazzling picture.

Up to that time the government had been administered in the spirit of the Constitution, and whatever differences of opinion existed between contending parties, every one felt that the institutions of the country were safe. The republic had grown in extent and power—its commerce, its manufactures, its agriculture flourished, and its flag was known and honored throughout the world. But now after more than seventy years of uninterrupted growth in all its departments its advance was to be suddenly arrested.

A sectional party had triumphed, and the government was to be transferred to their hands. Statesmen, men of business, and those engaged in the varied industries of the country expressed their apprehension of coming troubles.

Ex-President Franklin Pierce, distinguished as a statesman for his broad views and patriotic sentiments, wrote a letter, the day following the election, from Concord, N. H., November 7, 1860, to Hon. Horatio King, Assistant Postmaster-General at Washington, in terms which expressed the general sentiment of the country :

“As the overthrow of a party merely, the result of the Presidential election is comparatively of little moment. As a distinct and unequivocal denial of the co-equal rights of the States, I cannot help regarding it as fearful.”

South Carolina took the first step towards organizing an independent government.

The legislature then in session at Columbia issued a call on November 7, 1860, the day after the presidential election, when it was known that a majority of the electors chosen on November 6th were in favor of Lincoln for President, for a State convention to assemble on December 17th. It adopted other measures providing for the protection of the State and enabling it to accomplish its objects. A bill was passed providing for an army of ten thousand men to be raised immediately. Hon. Francis W. Pickens was elected by the legislature Governor of the State, and was promptly inaugurated. In his inaugural address he stated that for seventy-three years the State had been connected by a federal compact with co-States, under a bond of union for great national objects common to all ; that recently, a powerful party organized upon principles whose undisguised purpose was to divert the federal government from its true objects, and turn its power against the interests of the Southern States, in the recent election had triumphed upon principles

that made it no longer safe to rely upon the powers of the federal government; that the President was about to be inaugurated with vast powers, hostile to the institutions of South Carolina; and that no alternative was left but to interpose the sovereign power of the State to protect the rights and ancient privileges of its people. The State convention assembled at Columbia, December 17th, and adopted an ordinance of secession. Governor Pickens on December 24th issued a proclamation declaring the State of South Carolina to be: "A separate, sovereign, free and independent State, and as such has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to do all acts whatsoever that rightfully appertain to a free and independent State."

The most active steps were taken to secure the United States Custom-House, Post-Office, and Arsenal in Charleston, and Forts Pinckney and Moultrie in the harbor of that city. About this time, Major Anderson, the United States commander, who had with one small force occupied Fort Moultrie, believing that to be indefensible, transferred his command to Fort Sumter.

Immediately after the ordinance of secession the convention appointed commissioners to visit the other slaveholding States, and invite them to co-operate with South Carolina in the formation of a Confederate government.

Mississippi promptly responded; a convention was called, and an ordinance of secession adopted on January 9th, with slight opposition, which was afterwards made unanimous.

Florida was the next State to take action, and, on January 10th, passed an ordinance of secession with a preamble, setting forth the reasons for withdrawing from the Union.

In Alabama the sympathy with South Carolina was so strong that popular demonstrations were made in several cities when that State withdrew from the Union. In

Mobile, which at that time enjoyed great commercial prosperity, demonstrations were made upon a grand scale. In Montgomery, my residence, the same sentiment exhibited itself. The great body of my political friends were enthusiastic in expressing their sympathy with South Carolina, and insisted that Alabama should follow her example.

Loyal to the South, of which I was a native, where I had grown up, where I had been educated ; all my hopes and interests being identified with its prosperity, happiness, and glory ; I was still national, and desired that Alabama should await some further action on the part of the general government before taking any steps to withdraw from the Union.

A number of gentlemen, who were in sympathy with my views, urged me to address the people in opposition to the proposed secession of the State, and I decided to do so.

I delivered a speech in Estelle Hall to a crowded house, expressing in strong terms my attachment to Alabama, and my desire that the State should still maintain its relations to the Union, and await the full co-operation of the other slave-holding States before taking any final step to sever its connection with the federal government. I reviewed the history of the government, and stated that we were indebted to the Union of the States for our growth and prosperity, and I depicted the disastrous consequences that might follow a separation from the non-slaveholding States. A great writer has said : " History is philosophy teaching by examples," and it was important at this time to take a full survey of the past before severing our relations with the Union, and entering upon the untried fortunes of the future. In my judgment, even if we could accomplish the plan we proposed for the separation of the Southern States from the other States and the organization of an independent government, we

might not be able to conduct that government successfully; we were an agricultural people, and it was doubtful if we should be able to protect our property upon the high seas, or our citizens when they went abroad. Our wiser course would be to assert our rights within the Union, where I believed we should be able to protect our rights and maintain our honor. The flag of the United States was our flag; it was only a piece of bunting, but it represented the glorious history of our people in peace and in war, and we should exhaust every remedy in our power for the maintenance of our rights before we abandoned it.

The large audience, the great majority of whom held opinions widely different from mine, heard me respectfully, but did not give me their sympathy,

Upon the close of my speech loud calls were made upon the Honorable Thomas H. Watts to reply to me. That gentleman came forward to the stand and was greeted with applause; with the generosity of his nature, and the magnanimity that always distinguished him, Mr. Watts stated that while he did not agree with me in my views, and while a large number of those who were present might also dissent from my counsels, still it was my right to speak to the people frankly. I had been honored by the people of Alabama and I had served them faithfully, winning distinction for myself and for the State; he therefore declined, at that time, to address the people.

Governor Andrew B. Moore called a convention of delegates to assemble at Montgomery, who were elected December 24th. The convention assembled in the Capitol in Montgomery January 7, 1861. Every county in the State was represented; it was plain from the beginning that a very large majority of the members of the convention were in favor of withdrawing from the Union; a number of delegates from the northern part of Alabama opposed the plan for adopting the ordinance of secession.

There was a strong attachment felt for the Union, and the policy of withdrawing from it at that time was decidedly opposed.

An ordinance of secession was adopted by a large majority. After stating the reasons for a separation from the Union, it declared :

“ That the State of Alabama now withdraws, and is hereby withdrawn, from the Union known as the United States of America, and henceforth ceases to be one of said United States, and is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and independent State.”

In Georgia there was a strong popular sentiment against secession, and some of her most eminent statesmen resisted its adoption. Honorable Alexander H. Stephens and Benjamin H. Hill were distinguished for their earnest appeals in behalf of the Union. A convention was called which met at Milledgeville, January 16th. Mr. Stephens, a member of the body, soon after the opening of the session, made a great speech, stating in vehement terms his opposition to secession. One of the opening paragraphs reveals the ardor of his appeal to the convention to pause before taking that momentous step :

“ This step, secession, once taken can never be recalled, and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow will rest on this convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably provoke ; when our green fields and waving harvests shall be trodden down by a murderous soldiery ; when the fiery car of war sweeps over our land, our temples laid in ashes, and every horror and desolation upon us, who but this convention will be held responsible for it, and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure shall be held to a strict account for this suicidal act by the present

generation, and be cursed and execrated by posterity in all coming time for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us."

Against these solemn appeals of this distinguished statesman the convention, on January 19th, passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of 208 to 89. This powerful State declared herself to be independent.

Some few days later Louisiana adopted an ordinance of secession by a vote of 113 to 17.

The great State of Texas, catching the revolutionary spirit, soon asserted its independence. Disregarding the counsels of her eminent citizen, General Sam Houston, at that time Governor, Texas in convention declared, by a vote of 166 to 7, that the State was no longer a member of the Union.

These States, so lately loyal to the Union, declared that the triumph of a sectional party which unequivocally proclaimed its purpose to exclude their people from participation in the benefits of a common government, made it imperative, for the protection of their rights, to withdraw from it. Each one asserting a rightful power as a sovereign, proclaimed to the world that the State is, as she has a right to be, a separate, free, and independent State. The several States having thus declared their independence proceeded to take possession of the arsenals, custom-houses, navy yards, and forts belonging to the United States.

Fort Sumter was still held by an officer of the United States, and also Fort Pickens, in Florida.

The United States army at that time numbered less than 20,000 men. The largest force was in Texas, under

the command of General Twiggs, a distinguished officer, a native of Georgia, and whose sympathies were with the South; on February 18th he surrendered his whole command and all the posts and munitions of war to the authorities of Texas. On March 1st General Twiggs was dismissed from the army by order of President Buchanan.

The Congress of the United States assembled December 3, 1860, and President Buchanan sent to that body his annual message. In treating of the state of the country, he recommended several measures for the adoption of Congress, which he hoped would arrest the revolution already commenced, and restore to the Union the States which had withdrawn from it. Mr. Buchanan, a statesman of great ability and large experience, looking out upon the whole country, proposed the adoption of measures which he believed to be just in themselves, and demanded by the condition of the States. He did not hesitate to declare that certain laws adopted in the non-slaveholding States, impairing or defeating the right to recover fugitives from labor, were violations of the Constitution, and consequently null and void. He believed that the adoption of the measures proposed by him would forever terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and harmony among the States. The statesmanlike and patriotic counsels of the President did not prevail.

The great State of Virginia, loyal to the Constitution, and still cherishing the traditions which had distinguished her statesmen for so long a time, made an effort to restore harmony to the country. One of her most eminent citizens, ex-President John Tyler, leaving his retirement, came to Washington and presided over a convention which had assembled in accordance with resolutions which had been adopted by the legislature of Virginia. The convention did not succeed in effecting the reconciliation which it had hoped to accomplish. In the midst

of discussions going on in Congress in regard to the various measures proposed for the adjustment of the great contest, events occurred which soon made it clear that the administration of President Buchanan could not treat successfully the great questions which had brought about the secession of several of the Southern States. One by one the members of his Cabinet resigned; the disturbing question was a proposition to reinforce the forts in Charleston harbor. Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War, opposed any steps in that direction, and while the President still hesitated to take any decided step in regard to the measure, General Cass, Secretary of State, sent in his resignation. Honorable Howell Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, had already resigned, and returned to his residence in Georgia. Soon after, Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War, not being able to induce the President to withdraw the garrison from Charleston harbor, resigned. The events which soon after occurred, led to the resignation of the Honorable Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, who returned to his home in Mississippi. Honorable Joseph Holt, acting Secretary of War, with the sanction of the President and his Cabinet, made an attempt to send reinforcements to Major Anderson by the steamer *Star of the West*, which sailed from New York January 5th, and arrived off Charleston on the 9th. The ship was fired at from batteries manned with the forces of the State, and returned without effecting her purpose. Resolutions, belligerent in their tone, were adopted by the legislatures of New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts; the whole military power of those States was offered to the President. The legislature of South Carolina declared that any attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter would be an act of war.

Mr. Buchanan would sanction no further attempts to reinforce Fort Sumter; his administration was about to close, and he was reluctant to perform any act which

would bring about hostilities between the government of the United States and the several States of the South which had so recently withdrawn from it; he was the last in the line of Presidents, beginning with Washington, who had administered the government in the spirit of the Constitution, who had witnessed the steady growth of the country until it reached that splendid development which attracted the attention of the whole world, and it was his wish as he retired from his great office to leave it undisturbed by the sound of war, and unstained by a drop of fraternal blood. The government was soon to pass into the hands of those who had been elected by a powerful section, and a new dynasty was to succeed, while portentous clouds darkened the horizon of the future.

In the meantime the States that had seceded from the Union proceeded to organize a Confederate government. A Congress composed of delegates from these States met according to appointment at Montgomery on the 4th of February, 1861. Honorable Howell Cobb of Georgia was chosen to preside over it.

A provisional constitution for the Confederacy about to be established by the States which had declared their independence, to be styled "Confederate States of America," was adopted on the 8th of February, for the term of one year, unless superseded by a permanent organization.

The next day an election was held for the chief executive offices, and Honorable Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Honorable Alexander Stephens of Georgia Vice-President. Mr. Davis was not present at the time of his election to the presidency, but arrived in the course of a few days.

He was inaugurated as President of the Confederate States on the 18th of February, in the presence of a large assemblage of the people, who greeted him with enthusi-

asm. Demonstrations of joy were made in the city of Montgomery at the moment of the inauguration of the President, and the residences were generally illuminated in the evening.

Mr. Davis, after being inaugurated, proceeded to the formation of his Cabinet. It seems to have been his purpose to appoint Mr. Barnwell of South Carolina Secretary of State, and to invite Mr. Toombs of Georgia to take charge of the Treasury Department. Mr. Barnwell having declined to accept the office tendered him, Mr. Toombs was offered the State Department, and accepted it. Mr. Memminger of South Carolina, who had a high reputation in his own State for integrity, and for his acquaintance with financial affairs, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. L. P. Walker of Alabama, a distinguished member of the bar, was offered the War Department, and accepted it. Mr. Mallory of Florida, who had been Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the United States Senate, was appointed Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Reagan of Texas, who had been a distinguished Representative in the United States Congress from that State, accepted the office of Postmaster-General. Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana, who had a great reputation as a lawyer, and who had served with distinction in the Senate of the United States, was called to the post of Attorney-General. A permanent constitution was unanimously adopted by Congress on March 11th. Its provisions resembled the Constitution of the United States, but some changes were made to meet the conditions of the new government. Some of them were improvements, and among these was a provision for the election of President and Vice-President, the official term having been extended to six years, and the President ineligible to re-election.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated at Washington. In his inaugural address he argued that

no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully go out of the Union, and declared that all resolves and ordinances to that effect were illegal and void. He said :

“ I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken ; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.”

In March Mr. Stephens delivered a speech at Savannah, in which he expounded the principles upon which the Confederate government had been organized. Opposed as he had been to secession, he had accepted the place of Vice-President in the new government, and he thought it proper to state his views clearly in regard to its provisions. He said :

“ The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us ; the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock upon which the old Union would split. The prevailing ideas entertained by him, and most of the old statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature ; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. Our new government is founded upon exactly opposite ideas ; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. It is the first government ever instituted upon principles in strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence, in furnishing the materials of human society. Many govern-

ments have been founded upon the principle of enslaving certain classes ; but the classes thus enslaved were of the same race and enslaved in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws ; the negro, by nature or by the curse against Canaan, is fit for that condition which he occupies in our system. . . . It is indeed in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into His ordinances, or to question them."

Mr. Lincoln in forming his Cabinet appointed Honorable William H. Seward of New York Secretary of State, a statesman of great ability, but committed, by repeated expressions of his sentiments, to the support of measures hostile to slavery wherever it existed, and to its exclusion from all territory embraced within the government of the United States.

Honorable Salmon P. Chase of Ohio accepted the Department of the Treasury. This really great statesman gave strength to the new administration—illustrated its whole course, and by his financial ability enabled it to conduct successfully the war waged against the States that had declared their independence of the Union.

The new administration soon exhibited its purpose to coerce the States that had withdrawn from the Union to obedience to the authority of the general government. It decided that a fleet should be sent to Charleston to reinforce Major Anderson, who still held possession of Fort Sumter. A squadron carrying supplies and soldiers sailed from New York and other Northern ports early in April, and on the 8th formal notice was given to the Governor of South Carolina that the fleet was on its way with instructions to relieve the fort. Up to that time it had been hoped that no change would be made in the status of Fort Sumter until further efforts at reconciliation had been tried. General Beauregard, who was in command at Charleston of the Confederate forces, immediately telegraphed the sailing of the fleet and its object to the Secre-

tary of War at Montgomery. At a Cabinet meeting, at which Mr. Davis presided, the question was discussed, and it was decided to instruct General Beauregard to demand the immediate surrender of the fort. This order was given in view of the measure just adopted by the administration at Washington. The squadron under way for Charleston consisted of eight vessels, carrying twenty-six guns, and about fourteen hundred men, including the troops sent for reinforcement of the garrison. Mr. Davis saw that no time was to be lost in anticipating the impending assault. A communication was received from General Beauregard, dated Charleston, April 8th, addressed to L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, as follows :

"An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions would be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.

"G. T. BEAUREGARD."

General Walker addressed the following order to General Beauregard :

"MONTGOMERY, 10th.

"If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you an intention of the Washington government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and if this is refused proceed, in such manner as you may determine, to reduce it."

General Beauregard replied promptly : "The demand will be made to-morrow at twelve o'clock." Mr. Walker immediately instructed General Beauregard : "Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition, it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour." General Beauregard replied : "The reasons are special for twelve o'clock."

On April 12, 1861, at 2 P.M., General Beauregard informed Major Anderson that he had been ordered by the government of the Confederate States to demand an

evacuation of Fort Sumter, stating that his aides, Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee, were authorized to make such demand. He stated that all proper facilities would be afforded for the removal of Major Anderson and command, together with company arms and property, and private property, to any post in the United States which he might elect. He added: "The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down." Major Anderson promptly replied, declining with regret the demand for the evacuation of the fort, with which his sense of honor and of obligation to his government prevented his compliance, and tendered his thanks for "the fair, manly, and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid" him.

Under instructions received from the Secretary of War at Montgomery, General Beauregard, in consequence of verbal observations made by his aides, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, as to the disposition of Major Anderson to arrange for the evacuation of Fort Sumter without the useless effusion of blood, addressed a communication to that officer suggesting that he should name the time when he would evacuate the fort. On April 12th, at half-past two in the morning, General Beauregard received from Major Anderson a reply to his communication of the 11th inst. that he would, "if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th inst., should he not receive prior to that time controlling instructions from his government, or additional supplies; and that he would not in the meantime open fire upon the Confederate forces, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against the fort or the flag of his government." Within one hour after receiving this communication—3.20 A.M.—General Beauregard notified Major Anderson

that he would open the fire of his batteries upon Fort Sumter in one hour from that time.

It was known to the Confederate government that instructions were already issued to Major Anderson to hold Fort Sumter, and that additional supplies were momentarily expected by that officer to arrive; and that any attempt to introduce the supplies would compel the opening of the fire upon the vessels bearing them under the flag of the United States. It was plain that Major Anderson's conditions could not be accepted.

The decision of the government at Washington to hold Fort Sumter after South Carolina had by a solemn ordinance of secession withdrawn from the Union, precipitated the war that followed. The sending of a fleet with arms, supplies, and men to reinforce the fort held by Major Anderson, who was ordered to hold it to the last, was an act of war.

General Beauregard met the threatened assault with prompt decision, and proceeded to carry out the orders received from the government at Montgomery. The batteries under his command opened their fire upon Fort Sumter at half-past four o'clock in the morning, April 12, 1861. Major Anderson responded with the guns of the fort. A terrific bombardment followed, which continued through the day and the night; the guns of large calibre used on both sides were effective, and in the course of thirty-four hours the fort, having been shattered by shot, was set on fire by shells.

Major Anderson could resist no longer; he surrendered the fort on the 13th of April, after a defence which heightened his reputation as a man and an officer. The terms were accorded to him which had been offered by General Beauregard in his note of April 11th demanding an evacuation of the fort. It is remarkable that not a casualty occurred to any one on either side during this great engagement. After the surrender of the fort, by

the explosion of a gun used in the firing of a salute to the United States flag by the garrison, one man was killed and several others wounded.

The fleet sent to reinforce Major Anderson took no part in the engagement ; it had been lying off the mouth of the harbor, and was hindered entering by a gale of wind.

General Beauregard immediately placed a strong garrison in Fort Sumter, and strengthened the fort so that it defied assault. It was held by the Confederate garrison, notwithstanding the bombardments made against it more than once by the heavily armed fleets of the United States, until the close of the war.

This momentous event, an account of which was transmitted by telegraph from Charleston to all parts of the country, created the greatest excitement. The demonstrations of joy in Charleston expressed the exultation of the people. Governor Pickens addressed a great crowd assembled in a speech which aroused their enthusiasm to the highest pitch. He said :

“We have humbled the flag of the United States. We have defeated their twenty millions ; we have brought down in humility the flag that has triumphed for seventy years ; to-day, on this 13th day of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina.”

The government at Montgomery was greatly elated by the triumph ; splendid demonstrations of joy were made by the people. I observed the scene, and was impressed by the display of popular enthusiasm.

Mr. Walker, Secretary of War, addressed the people in glowing terms, and predicted the complete success of the revolution which had commenced, and which had just achieved such a signal triumph. The government at Washington acted promptly upon receiving an account of

what had occurred. President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling forth the militia of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress the combination, which he said had been made, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. He commanded the persons composing the combinations to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days. He called both Houses of Congress to convene in their respective chambers at 12 o'clock noon, on Thursday, the following 4th of July. Great meetings were held in the large cities of the North, and the call of President Lincoln for troops was promptly responded to by the governors of the Northern States. The North was thoroughly roused. But the governors of the border States replied to the requisition for troops in terms of defiance, and refused to furnish any. The fight at Sumter produced a great effect; and several States which had up to that time declined to secede from the Union promptly took steps for the accomplishment of that object.

The Virginia convention, a few days previously, had refused to pass an ordinance of secession. On the 17th of April, four days after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the same convention, by a vote of 88 to 55, declared its independence of the Union, and its adherence to the Southern Confederacy.

Mr. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate government, was in Richmond as a commissioner from his government, and had exerted all his power to induce Virginia to join the Southern Confederacy.

Hitherto I had taken no part in the measures which resulted in the secession of Alabama, nor in the subsequent proceedings of the Confederate government. In full sympathy with the South, it was understood that I was opposed to the steps which had been taken. My intercourse with President Davis and the members of his

Cabinet, and other leading statesmen of the Confederacy was free and cordial, but I took no part in public affairs.

The purpose of President Lincoln to coerce the seceding States into obedience to the authority of the federal government was now revealed. Without awaiting the assembling of Congress he assumed the right to raise an army for the invasion of the Southern States. He proposed to make war upon the States that had in conventions of their people decided to withdraw from the Union, and to organize an independent government, upon the ground that it was his duty to suppress an insurrection.

I regarded this as an act in flagrant violation of the Constitution. This usurpation of authority was in conflict with the principles of free government and the spirit of our institutions. The history of the federal government showed that its framers had not only not conferred this power upon the President, but had withheld it even from Congress when it had been proposed to grant it.

The crisis called for statesmanship of the highest order. The situation which confronted the new administration at Washington required the adoption of measures in accordance with the spirit of the American government ; not a rash and imperious act of usurped authority, such as might have been expected from the absolute ruler of a despotic state.

The crisis involved the stability of free institutions on this continent. It seemed to me that it was an occasion which called for forbearance, and a consultation with the leading statesmen of all sections upon the state of the country. A convention of all the States should have been called with a view to the adjustment of the great conflict, and the adoption of measures for the perpetuity of friendly relations between the States for the future. I firmly believed that everything could have been settled upon terms honorable to the South and satisfactory to the

North, which would have strengthened the government of the United States for all time to come.

I was seated in my library writing, when I received a note from the Honorable L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, stating that the President desired an interview with me. I had not the slightest idea that I should be invited by the President to confer with him, and was therefore unable to conjecture what object he might have in view. I walked to the public buildings, and was shown into an audience room, adjoining that in which the sessions of the Cabinet were held. Mr. Davis was awaiting me, and received me with an expression of gratification, that I had accepted his invitation. He then said to me that Mr. Stephens had consented to go to Richmond to represent the Confederate government, and present considerations to the Virginia convention, which might induce that body to hesitate no longer in withdrawing from the Union.

Tennessee was another border State which it was important to have in co-operation with us. A short time since a commissioner had been sent to Nashville, to present considerations which it was hoped might effect that object; but nothing was accomplished. He then informed me that it was believed that the late act of the President of the United States, in proposing to raise an armed force for the invasion of the seceding States, would induce me to consent to serve the Confederate government. He was acquainted with my relations with the leading men of Tennessee, and it was his wish that I should proceed promptly to Nashville, as the representative of the government. I replied that it was well understood that my opposition to the secession of Alabama was based upon considerations that seemed to me controlling at that time; that the situation had undergone a great change, and that I was ready to serve the Confederate States government if I could do so. As to the mission to Tennessee, which

it was proposed to offer me, I regarded it as honorable, but full of responsibility; if, in the judgment of the government, it should be decided to authorize me to represent it in Nashville, I should certainly do so. Mr. Davis expressed his great gratification, shook me cordially by the hand, and invited me to enter the next room, where the Cabinet was holding a meeting. I was invited to be seated, and we proceeded to discuss the situation. The President asked me when it would suit me to leave for Nashville, I replied: "To-morrow morning." He said: "Can you not go to-night, the legislature of Tennessee is in session? Honorable Mr. Whitthorne, Speaker of the House, is in the city; he leaves to-night, and I shall be glad if you will accompany him." I replied: "I will go to-night, Mr. President."

The necessary papers were prepared at once: the object of my mission, instructions as to my course, and a statement of the resources of the Confederate government. These having been delivered to me in the course of the evening, I set out that night upon my important mission.

When I arrived in Nashville I was received by Governor Isham G. Harris with great warmth; he expressed his satisfaction that I had consented to come as the commissioner of the Confederate States, and assured me that he believed that Tennessee would promptly take steps to withdraw from the Union. Governor Harris immediately addressed a message to the legislature, informing them of my arrival, and expressed a wish that I should be received, and an opportunity should be given to me to explain the objects of my mission. Both houses of the legislature adopted proper resolutions, and invited me to address them the next day. In company with Governor Harris and several other gentlemen of distinction, I proceeded to the Capitol at the hour appointed, and was escorted to the Hall of Representatives, where I found the Senate also present, ready to receive me. An immense

audience had assembled, and I was greeted with applause which satisfied me of the enthusiasm of those who had come to hear me speak as the representative of the Confederate States. Having been introduced, I proceeded to address the assembled legislature, setting forth the objects of the Confederate government in empowering me to visit Nashville. I delivered a full speech, calling attention to the state of the country, and expressing my earnest desire that Tennessee should co-operate with the seceding States which had organized a government at Montgomery. In the course of my speech I stated that the time had come for Tennessee to decide the great question, whether she would remain a member of the Union and give her support to measures projected by the President for bringing the several States that had already seceded into obedience to the federal government; or, whether she would take her stand with her kindred people who had organized an independent government for the protection of their rights. I denounced in strong terms the act of President Lincoln in issuing a proclamation calling for troops with which he proposed to invade the States that had withdrawn from the Union, and declaring his purpose of treating them as insurgents. I said:

“Gentlemen, it is no longer a question of secession; several States have already taken that step; the time is at hand when a great battle is to be fought in vindication of constitutional liberty. The President of the United States has usurped the authority to make war, and he proposes to march an army into the Southern States upon the ground that it is his duty to suppress an insurrection. It is for Tennessee to decide on which side she will take her stand; whether she will contribute her strength to uphold a government that transcends in its action the principles of the Constitution, and undertakes to define its authority over States, and to enforce it by arms—or whether she will range herself by the side of that new government which has been instituted in defence of constitutional law, the

public right, and the honor of the South. Virginia, confronting the approaching invasion, has just thrown down her gage of battle, shouting out in the spirit of revolutionary times '*Sic semper tyrannis.*' Will Tennessee, with her heroic sons, whose battles and victories have illustrated the State, join us, and help us to repel an invasion which is monstrous on this continent, and in this nineteenth century? Every consideration appeals to you to range yourselves by our side."

I proceeded to present, for the consideration of the legislature, a statement of our plans and purposes, and concluded by saying that if the federal government should succeed in overrunning the Southern States with an invading army, and subject them once more to its authority, I saw but little hope for constitutional liberty.

At the conclusion of my speech I was greeted on all sides by leading men who were present, in terms which gratified me beyond expression.

I called on Mrs. Polk, and was warmly welcomed. I had known her at Washington when she graced the Executive Mansion during President Polk's administration; and while I was a member of Congress from Alabama. She still retained a blended dignity and warmth of manner which distinguished her in the White House, and made her elegant mansion in Nashville a place which attracted visitors from all parts of the country. She honored me with attentions, and put her carriage at my disposal, sending it to me in charge of the coachman who had been in the service of President Polk in Washington.

It was important to enter into an agreement regulating the relations between Tennessee and the Confederate States, until the ordinance of secession, submitted to the people, should be ratified.

The legislature by joint resolution directed the Governor to enter into such alliance. Governor Harris appointed three distinguished gentlemen of the State to negotiate with me—Archibald O. Totten, of the Supreme

Court, Honorable Washington Barrow, and Honorable Gustavus A. Henry. On May 7th, an alliance was entered into by us on the same plan as that which had been made with Virginia; which was submitted to the legislature by the Governor. It was ratified by both houses; in the Senate by a vote of 14 to 6; in the House by a vote of 42 in its favor to 15 against it. On the day previous the legislature had passed an ordinance of secession to be submitted to the people for ratification; a return of the votes cast to be made to the Secretary of State on the 24th of June ensuing; and if a majority of the votes were given in favor of it, the Governor should immediately issue his proclamation declaring all connection between the State of Tennessee and the federal government dissolved, and that Tennessee is a free and independent government—free from all obligations to, or connection with, the government of the United States. The act further set forth specifically an ordinance for the adoption of the constitution of the provisional government of the Confederate States, providing for "representation in the Confederate Congress." It also provided for the election of delegates to the Confederate Congress in case the provisional constitution should be adopted by the popular vote. The act passed the Senate by a vote of 24 yeas to 4 nays, and passed the House by a vote of 46 yeas to 24 nays.

The majority in favor of both ordinances so set forth in the act of the legislature submitting them to a vote of the people was 57,665.

A full delegation was also chosen to represent the State in the Confederate Congress.

When it was known in Nashville that the legislature had passed acts proposing that Tennessee should secede from the Union, the demonstrations of popular joy were great. In the evening the city was illuminated, and bonfires blazed at several places. Entering a carriage

After bringing to view the state of the country, he said in conclusion :

" We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concession of any kind from the States from which we have lately been confederated."

He declared that the purpose of the Confederate government was to resist an attempt at its subjugation by arms :

" The moment that this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we must continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government."

Congress passed acts authorizing the President to use the whole land and naval forces to meet the necessities of the war thus commenced ; to issue to private armed vessels letters of marque, in addition to the volunteer force authorized to be raised ; to accept services of volunteers to serve during the war ; to receive into the service various companies of the different arms ; to make a loan of fifty millions of dollars in bonds and notes ; and to hold an election for officers of the permanent government under the new constitution. An act was passed to complete the internal organization of the government and to establish the administration of public affairs.

Patriotic ardor in support of the new government was everywhere exhibited ; a greater number of troops than had been called for offered their services ; and arms could not at that time be supplied to them ; but the most active measures were adopted to obtain them.

The attempt to coerce the States into obedience to the federal government by an invading army resulted in bringing many of the friends of the Union to the support of the Confederate government. Virginia and Tennessee had already taken steps to withdraw from the Union. North Carolina and Arkansas declared their independence and joined the Confederate States. Men of the highest order throughout the country, distinguished for their loyalty and their patriotic services, came to the aid of the government which had just been organized in defence of their principles and the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. Like Hampden, who loved the government and cherished its glorious history—the greatest and freest in the world—but who took up arms to defend the liberties of the people of England against the perversion of its powers by the reigning monarch, they came to the support of the Confederate government in its resistance to the threatened invasion. They felt as Lord Chatham did—that to resist the usurpation of powers of the government was a duty, and to aid those who had ranged themselves for the defence of the liberties of the people was a patriotic act.

Robert E. Lee resigned his commission in the United States army and tendered his services to Virginia; he was made commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the commonwealth.

General Albert Sidney Johnston, whose services had won for him great distinction in the United States army, and whose qualities made him the peer of any military commander in the world, then in command of the Department of California, resigned his commission and travelled by land from San Francisco to Richmond to tender his services to the Confederate States.

The Confederate Congress in session at Montgomery, on the 21st of May, 1861, resolved "That this Congress will adjourn on Tuesday next to meet again on the 20th day of July at Richmond, Virginia."

About this time I was called to Richmond to visit my youngest son, Camillus B. Hilliard, who had a short time before returned from Europe, and had been appointed assistant surgeon in the Confederate army. He had attended three courses of lectures, and had received his degree at Philadelphia, but wishing to pursue his studies in Paris he had gone to that city in 1860, where he remained until the early part of 1861. Mrs. Hilliard accompanied me, and we found our son extremely ill; it was several weeks before he recovered. He entered again upon his duties, and soon advanced to the rank of surgeon, a post which he held until the end of the war.

In pursuance of its resolutions Congress assembled at Richmond on the day appointed, and President Davis delivered a message in which he stated that the aggressive movement of the enemy required prompt and energetic action.

I passed some months in Richmond, and was deeply interested in the important events which occurred at that time.

The first great battle between the army of the United States and that of the Confederate States occurred at Manassas, July 21, 1861. The United States forces were under the command of General McDowell, and those of the Confederate army under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston and General Beauregard. The battle began before daybreak on the morning of the 21st, and continued until the afternoon of that day; great gallantry being displayed by officers and men on both sides. A writer, whose account seems authentic, says:

“ At four o'clock the advantage seemed clearly on the Union side; McDowell ordered an attack upon the centre, which he hoped would decide the day. But at the very moment his whole right came rushing down in confusion. The Confederates had struck a blow upon an unexpected quarter. Ever

since noon Beauregard had commanded on the plateau, while Johnston took a post in the rear, from which he could overlook the whole field, and direct the reinforcements as they came up. At two o'clock Kirby Smith's brigade, which had been left behind the previous day, came in sight. Johnston hurried up every regiment; some were sent to strengthen Beauregard's line, which began to advance; others, with Smith's brigade, were hurled upon the flank and rear of the Union right, which was driven in upon the centre, now moving to attack. In a quarter of an hour all was over. The plateau was swept clear, and the whole Union army streamed wildly back towards the bridge and fords. The eight companies of regulars alone kept anything like military order. In retreating they presented a firm front, and checked the pursuit until the fugitives had gained a fair start. The Confederate infantry was in no condition to make a vigorous pursuit; half of them had been engaged for hours, and the rest were exhausted by long marches. Some regiments pursued for a mile and were then recalled; only a few hundred cavalry and a light battery keeping up the chase. By one route or another the fugitives crossed Bull Run and reached the turnpike leading to Centreville. This was crossed by a brook over which was a narrow wooden bridge. A crowd of sightseers from Washington had come thus far in carriages and on horseback, to look upon a battle which they had been told was already a victory. A cannon shot overturned a caisson which was crossing the bridge and blocked the way. The artillery horses were cut from their traces, and the drivers, mounting, rode from the throng. Finally the crowd got over the stream, some by the bridge, others by wading, and hurried to Centreville, where Miles' division had remained all day. The pursuing horsemen were checked by the sight of a regiment of these drawn up across the road. It was now evening. A hurried council of war was held and it was determined to fall back to Washington, but the routed regiments were already on their way, and reached the capital before daylight next morning. In six hours of darkness they had traversed the distance which it had taken them forty hours to accomplish in their advance."

There was great exultation in Richmond when the news of this battle was received. Couriers came, and cavalry officers, giving full accounts of the engagement. The next day the body of General Bernard Bee, of South Carolina—that fine officer who, observing the steadiness of General Jackson's regiment in the battle, said to his aides: "Look at Jackson; his command stands like a stone wall," giving that commander a name which will never perish—was brought in. The body of Colonel Bartow, of Savannah, who had commanded a Georgia regiment, also was brought in. They were both placed in the Capitol at Richmond, where for some time they lay in state.

I do not propose to give an account of the military events which occurred from the victory at Manassas to the surrender at Appomattox. For years a storm of war swept over the country, in which great forms appeared struggling for the mastery—heroic men whose faces were lighted with patriotic ardor and high courage; they will go down in history with brows encircled with laurel wreaths to meet the coming generations. They bore their part in the greatest civil war that the world ever saw; and true men of all sections and all countries will unite in paying a tribute to their memory. America honors them as her sons, and the seasons as they pass in their ceaseless visits to our land shed their night dews and kindle their sunbeams upon the graves where they sleep.

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest!

There honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there!"

COLLINS.

On the 1st of January, 1863, President Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation that had been previously foreshadowed. It proclaimed that:

"All persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof should then be in rebellion, should be then, thenceforward, and forever free, and the executive government, including the military and naval authority thereof, would maintain such freedom."

This paper was as momentous as a great battle. It startled the country—it attracted the attention of the civilized world. It was a bold usurpation of power that gave a shock to our system of free government. It is understood that Mr. Lincoln had repeatedly declared that he had no rightful authority to issue such an order. He resisted the importunities of impatient anti-slavery men for months. But when he looked out upon great contending armies struggling with each other, he believed that the existence of the Union was imperilled, and he decided to issue that important paper as a war measure. He undertook to annul valid laws of States regulating the domestic relations of their people—States which he declared to be still within the Union. Light is shed upon his motives by the statements which he made both before and after he issued the proclamation. In a public telegraphic dispatch addressed to Horace Greeley—a great force in the anti-slavery movement,—on August 22, 1862, he said :

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it ; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it ; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union ; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it will help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause ; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause."

In February, 1865, at Hampton Roads conference, where he appeared with Mr. Seward to meet the commissioners appointed by the Confederate government, he spoke freely in regard to this subject. Honorable Alexander H. Stephens says :

“ He (the President) went into a prolonged course of remarks about the proclamation. He said it was not his intention in the beginning to interfere with slavery in the States ; that he never would have done it, if he had not been compelled by necessity to do it, to maintain the Union ; that he had hesitated for some time, and had resorted to this measure only when driven to it by public necessity ; that he had been in favor of the general government prohibiting the extension of slavery into the Territories, but did not think that the government possessed power over it as a war measure ; and that he had always himself been in favor of emancipation, but not immediate emancipation even by the States. Many evils attending this appeared to him.”

Mr. Stephens continued :

“ After pausing for some time, his head rather bent down, as if in deep reflection while all were seated, he rose up and used these words, almost if not quite identical : ‘ Stephens, if I were in Georgia and entertained the sentiments I do, though I suppose I should not be permitted to stay there long with them ; but if I resided in Georgia with my present sentiments, I tell you what I would do if I were in your place ; I would go home, and get the governor of the State to call the legislature together, and get them to recall all the State troops from the war ; elect senators and members to Congress, and ratify this constitutional amendment prospectively, so as to take effect—say in five years. Such a ratification would be valid in my opinion. I have looked into the subject, and think such a prospective ratification would be valid. Whatever may have been the views of your people before the war, they must be convinced now, that slavery is doomed. It cannot last long

in any event, and the best course, it seems to me, would be to adopt such a policy as would avoid, so far as possible, the evils of immediate emancipation. This would be my course if I were in your place.' "

We comprehend, then, Mr. Lincoln's views when, from his standpoint, he issued the emancipation proclamation, he overrode the Constitution, annulled the laws of States, and undertook to set free immediately the slaves, notwithstanding the danger of a servile war in States of common origin, and occupied by kindred people. He asserted that he issued the proclamation as a war measure.

In an interesting notice of Mr. Lincoln, by Honorable Joshua F. Speed, written December 6, 1866, he says :

" My own opinion of the history of the emancipation proclamation is, that Mr. Lincoln foresaw the necessity for it long before he issued it. He was anxious to avoid it, and came to it only when he saw that the measure would subtract from its labor, and add to our army quite a number of good fighting men. I have heard of the charge of duplicity against him by certain Western members of Congress ; I never believed the charge, because he has told me from his own lips that the charge was false. I, who knew him so well, could never after that credit the report. At first I was opposed to the proclamation, and so told him. I remember well our conversation on the subject. He seemed to treat it as certain, that I would recognize the wisdom of the act, when I should see the harvest of good which we would ere long glean from it. In that conversation, he alluded to the incident in his life, long past, when he was so much depressed, that he almost contemplated suicide. At the time of his deep depression, he said to me, that he had done nothing to make any human being remember he had lived, and that to connect his name with the events transpiring in his own day and generation, and so impress himself upon them, as to link his name with something that would redound to the interest of his fellow-man, was what he desired to live for. He reminded me of that conversation,

and said with earnest emphasis, 'I believe that in this measure [meaning his proclamation] my fondest hope will be realized.' Over twenty years had passed between the two conversations."

The end of the great conflict was at hand. The Southern army after a long and heroic defence against overwhelming numbers could resist no longer. Its great leader, General Robert E. Lee, whose career shed new lustre upon the name of Virginia, and recalled memories of the glorious Revolutionary struggle, who had long been a conspicuous figure in the sight of the world, and who, though of our times, takes rank with the great captains of antiquity, felt that it was due to his people and to the remnant of the gallant army that still surrounded him, to surrender the cause.

On Sunday, the 2d of April, 1865, he sent a telegram to President Davis that he was about to withdraw from Petersburg. He had some time previously in an interview with Mr. Davis stated that his extended line of defence could not be much longer maintained. The President was in Saint Paul's Church in Richmond when General Lee's telegram was delivered to him; he rose and quietly walked out of the church. He immediately proceeded to make preparation for the evacuation of Richmond. General Lee withdrew his army from Petersburg and retired before General Grant's massive column, until he reached Appomattox Court House. On the evening of the 8th General Lee decided, after conference with his corps commanders, that he would make a stand if the state of his army was in a condition to do so. The reports brought in to him satisfied him that the time had come to surrender his army to General Grant. A communication, under a white flag, was made by General Lee to General Grant, inviting him to come to Appomattox where terms of surrender could be agreed upon. General Grant came promptly, and entering a room which had been prepared

for their conference, the two Generals took their seats at a small table. General Lee opened the interview thus :

“General, I deem it due to proper candor and frankness to say from the beginning of this interview that I am not willing even to discuss any terms of surrender inconsistent with the honor of my army which I am determined to maintain to the last.”

General Grant, appreciating the character of General Lee, replied :

“I have no idea of proposing dishonorable terms, General, and I would be glad if you would state what you consider honorable terms.”

After a brief statement of the terms by General Lee upon which he was willing to surrender, General Grant expressed himself as satisfied with them, and they were formally reduced to writing. The terms agreed upon were honorable to both parties, and illustrate the great qualities of the two commanders who arranged them.

General Lee was firm ; General Grant was magnanimous. They were representative men, and as they sat face to face they constituted a picture that will be historic ; they comprehended each other.

General Grant addressed his communication, submitting the terms of settlement, to “General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army” ; and signed it “Very respectfully, U. S. Grant, Lt.-General.” General Lee sent a prompt reply accepting the proposed terms.

On April 18, 1865, near Durham Station in North Carolina a memorandum of agreement between General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate army, and Major-General W. T. Sherman, commanding the army of the United States in North Carolina, was made,—liberal in its terms, and honorable to its great commanders.

A patriotic spirit prompted these two important settle-

ments; they were characterized by an American tone, and they were worthy of the great commanders who had confronted each other in a gigantic civil war.

The Confederate States government had fallen. The principles involved in the conflict were, on the one side the preservation of the Union; and, on the other, the vindication of the right of the people of co-ordinate States to a full participation in the benefits of a common government. Questions affecting the interests, and exciting the passions of the people engaged on either side affected the conflict, but the great controlling principle asserted by the Southern States which had formed an independent government was, that a State had the right under the Constitution to withdraw from the Union when, in the course of events, its people solemnly declared in convention that its interests demanded a separation. A strong anti-slavery sentiment prevailed at the North. In the South the people felt that the subordination of the negro race to the white race was absolutely essential for the maintenance of their system of civilization,—a system which existed previous to the formation of the government, and recognized in the Constitution, which provided for a basis of representation of that servile class.

We have emerged from a great civil war; our political system is still a federal government composed of co-ordinate States; the Union is to stand, and the Constitution is supreme. One flag known and honored by all nations under the whole heavens floats as our national ensign, from the Atlantic gilded with the morning beams of the sun, to the Pacific where he sheds his evening splendors upon that broad ocean.





CHAPTER XXVIII.

Assassination of President Lincoln—A National Calamity—The North and the South both Mourned his Death, and Paid Tributes to his Memory—His Character—His Place in History—Accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency—Reconstruction Measures—Mr. Seward—Chief-Justice Chase.

THE war was over. Peace returned to our land.

President Lincoln made a brief visit to Richmond. The torch of the incendiary had done its work, and a great part of the beautiful city was in ruins.

Returning to Washington, he received the gratulations of the nation. In the supreme hour of his triumph he fell by the hand of an assassin. He attended, by invitation, a performance in Ford's Theatre on the evening of April 14th, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and two guests. He entered the crowded theatre at 9.20; the audience rose and cheered enthusiastically as the presidential party passed to the "state box" reserved for them.

At 10 o'clock John Wilkes Booth swiftly entered the box, and drawing a pistol, fired. The shot was fatal—the ball entered just behind Mr. Lincoln's left ear, and immediately produced complete unconsciousness. Springing upon the stage, he rushed across it, and escaped through a back door. The President was in his chair unconscious when Miss Laura Keane and others entered the box with water and stimulants. Medical aid soon came; it was too late. The dying President was immediately carried

to a house opposite the theatre, where at 7.22 the next morning, the 15th of April, he expired.

The event was tragic beyond description. It is stated that Mr. Lincoln had often said that he had a presentiment that he would rise to a high position and be suddenly cut off; but on this evening no cloud seemed to rest upon him. The heart of the nation was moved. The President, who only a few weeks before, on March 4th, standing in front of the Capitol, and for the second time inaugurated for his great office, uttering words of kindness which will be ever memorable: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and all nations,"—had been suddenly stricken down by the hand of an assassin.

It was a national calamity. The North and the South mourned his death; both paid tributes to his memory. Assassination never advances civilization; it sometimes inflicts an irreparable injury upon public liberty. In the case of President Lincoln the country lost by his death the only man who could restore to it tranquillity. Many of the leaders of his party who surrounded him were inflamed with resentment against the South; they displayed neither statesmanship nor magnanimity. He alone could control his party; he had their confidence, and they respected his views of public affairs. If he had lived the South would have found in him a statesman of broad views and a friendly spirit in the adjustment of the great questions which affected her relations to the government at the close of the war. No occurrence in our time had so affected the nation as the death of the President.

Among the tributes paid to him as he was borne from the capital to Springfield, where he was to be interred, was an eloquent discourse by Henry Ward Beecher, from which I quote a paragraph :

“And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when living. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and States are his pall-bearers, and the cannon speaks the hours with solemn progression. Dead, dead, dead, he yet speaketh. Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is any man who was ever fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, risen to the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life is now grafted upon the Infinite, and will be fruitful, as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome.”

Mr. Lincoln's character was not generally understood. Unfortunately for his fame his measures at the very beginning of his administration displayed a rash purpose to maintain the government by the usurpation of powers not granted in the Constitution. In the place of forbearance there was a call for an army of invasion. In the course of the great events that followed he seemed to have but one purpose—to overrun the South by powerful armies. That was his highest idea of statesmanship. Those who were nearest to him, some of his early friends, knew the kindliness of his nature. I knew him in Congress, where he served two sessions. We were both Whigs, and we occupied seats near each other. In our intercourse I found him agreeable and entertaining, exhibiting fine sense, his conversation sparkling with wit and his genial nature unfailling. In a contribution to a biography of Mr. Lincoln, which has recently been published, Honorable Joshua L. Speed gives an interesting notice of him. Mr. Speed states that after having done an act of marked kindness to two women who had come to him in the

Executive Mansion with an entreaty for clemency he said :

"That old lady was no counterfeit ; the mother spoke out in every feature in her face. It is more than one can often say that in doing right one has made two people happy in one day. Speed, die when I may, I want it said of me by those who know me best that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower when I thought a flower would grow."

The place which he will fill in history can be seen to-day ; twenty-five years have gone by since his death ; we can speak of him with calm frankness and perfect fairness. Egypt never judged her kings while they reigned, but passed upon them after death, giving them their true place in their successive dynasties. Mr. Lincoln was an extraordinary man ; not educated in the schools where statesmen were taught, but in the walks where men are sometimes trained by the influences of actual life, by the law of natural development, until they attain a strength that fits them for the grandest achievements in the conduct of human affairs. Such a man was Mr. Lincoln. The world is now acquainted with him. The emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln was the act of his administration that won for him the applause of the world ; it made his name immortal. Disregarding the Constitution, annulling the laws of States, looking out upon the storm of war that raged about him, he stood up, and, in the presence of the nation, issued a decree giving liberty to millions of slaves.

Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, came to the presidency ; a great opportunity was before him, but he did not comprehend it. The times required statesmanship of the highest order. The States lately at war might have been reconciled upon terms that would have strengthened the Union, and have awakened the sentiments of loyalty

to the government in the hearts of the people throughout the nation. The existing State governments should have been promptly recognized, and senators and representatives chosen by them should have been admitted in both houses of Congress. This policy had been foreshadowed by President Lincoln. The war was at an end ; the several ordinances of secession were declarations of independence to be upheld, if need be, upon the field of battle. The Confederate States had lost the great battle, and the States were still within the Union. They were treated as conquered provinces, and terms were named upon which they should be re-admitted to the Union. Never in the history of free governments had such a mistake been made.

Mr. Johnson's first blunder was his rejection of the settlement made between General Joseph E. Johnston and General Sherman. It verified the French proverb.

A series of measures adopted by the new administration served to hinder the great work of national reconciliation. President Johnson made known the terms upon which he would grant a pardon to those who had resisted the government ; and constructed a plan which was so full of the spirit of distrust and resentment as to make it similar to an act of pardon from Charles II. upon his restoration—that was offensive to Englishmen. Mr. Johnson's plan was unworthy of a President confronting the American people. Mr. Lincoln would have avoided all this and have controlled his party. Mr. Johnson had no influence with his party, and a great quarrel followed which came near unseating him.

There were men like myself in the South who earnestly desired a restoration of the Union. Having known Mr. Seward in Congress, a Whig as I was, and in friendly intercourse with him, I wrote him in regard to that subject, and received the following reply :

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
“WASHINGTON, 10 August, 1865.

“To the Honorable

HENRY W. HILLIARD.

“MY DEAR SIR :

“I have received your letter of the first of August, and I desire to lose no time in expressing my cordial agreement with you in the opinions you have expressed concerning the true policy of the hour and the ultimate destiny of the nation. What is now urgently wanted is the reorganization of society in the insurgent States upon such principles as will enable them to win back the confidence of the people who made the sacrifices required for the preservation of the national life. The country has indeed suffered much. It has suffered deeply in every part. But its life and its integrity of heart and even limb remains. It has escaped not only the evils of foreign intervention, but even the demoralization of foreign influence, and therefore it may well be believed to have been really strengthened rather than enfeebled by the trials through which it has passed. I am glad to learn that we are to have your co-operation in the work of reorganization and harmonizing, and I shall be happy to see you when you come to the capital.

“With great regard and esteem,

“Your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD.”

Some few weeks later I visited Washington. A number of Southern gentlemen were at the capital interviewing the President, and submitting their applications for the pardon promised in his proclamation. The morning after my arrival I called at the White House, and found a large number awaiting a reception by the President. When his doors were thrown open he entered the large reception room and I advanced to a place near where the President was standing. He looked around, recognized me, and extended his hand, saying: “I am glad to see you.” We entered into conversation and I informed him

of the object of my visit. He suggested that I should leave my papers in the office of Mr. Speed, Attorney-General, when, in due time, they would be submitted to him. I had served in Congress for some years with Mr. Johnson, but had not met him since, and I was gratified at his cordial reception. Acting upon his suggestion I called at the office of the Attorney-General and left my application to be presented to the President.

I called on the President next day, and he inquired if I intended to go farther North, and being informed that I wished to pass some few weeks in New York, he said that upon my return he would act on my case.

I called on Mr. Seward at the State Department and was received with friendly warmth. Before taking leave he invited me to pass the evening with him.

I found Miss Seward when I entered, and she continued to sit with us for some time after tea was served. The surroundings were familiar; Mr. Seward occupied the house where I had my apartments when in Congress,—a handsome building near the White House. Mr. Seward entered into an extended conversation with me in regard to public affairs, and we both spoke with frankness of the state of the country. He spoke of Mr. Stephens, and seemed to distrust the authenticity of his speech at Savannah as to slavery being the corner-stone of the Confederate government. There was not a word uttered during the evening which expressed an unfriendly feeling towards the South. He gave me an account of the assault made upon him by Payne on the night of Mr. Lincoln's assassination. He had some days before been injured by a fall from his carriage and was in bed; his son and one or two friends were seated in the room. Visitors were strictly excluded, and when Payne entered the resistance to him by his son disturbed him, but he did not change his position; the bed was a very wide one and he was on the side farthest from the door. As Payne, raising his arm over

him laid the blade of his weapon on the side of his face, he saw that the sleeve of his coat was of Confederate gray; the blade seemed cold, and then it rained, the blood from the wound producing that sensation. He was saved from assassination by the width of the bed and the exertions of those who held Payne, and who finally forced him out of the door. I was deeply interested in this vivid account of the escape of the great statesman from the murderous assault of an armed athlete.

Upon my return to Washington from my visit to New York I found my friend, ex-Governor Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, at Willard's Hotel, where I also stayed.

The next day he called with me on the President. He informed me on the way that a new rule had been adopted,—a card placed on the table of the secretary by the visitor would bring prompt attention to the application by the President.

A large party entered the reception room with us, and after placing my card on the secretary's table we waited for some time before we could speak with the President. He received me as before, and spoke of my visit to New York in terms of friendly interest. I said that in conformity to his rule I had placed my card on the secretary's table, and hoped that it would receive early attention. Governor Johnson expressed his interest in me; the President smiled and said: "I was rather partial to Hilliard in Congress." I said: "Yes, we were good friends." Governor Johnson then remarked: "You had better pardon him; I don't think he has done much harm." "Now," replied the President, "I know all about him." We took leave, impressed by the President's friendly disposition.

Still the President would not allow my papers to be delivered to me. He held me responsible for my mission from the Confederate government to Tennessee, his own State. For weeks I waited his action; I saw the application of others acted on favorably; even General L. P.

Walker's, ex-Confederate Secretary of War, received early attention ; but while I was uniformly received cordially, the important document was withheld from me. At length I decided to wait no longer. At the expiration of some three weeks, on Saturday morning I called as usual at the Executive Mansion, but did not enter the reception room ; I sent in a note to the President, stating that I was about to return home, and requested immediate attention to my application.

In about thirty minutes the President's secretary walked into the corridor where I was seated, and, coming to me, informed me that I would find the paper which I wished to receive at the Department of State. I called at the department and obtained it immediately.

It was Saturday, and I proposed to leave Washington on Monday, to avoid travelling on Sunday. At the breakfast table Sunday morning a lady accompanied by her daughter took a seat near me. I recognized her as Mrs. Bayley, formerly the wife of Honorable Thomas H. Bayley, of Virginia ; she presented me to Miss Bayley, her daughter, and immediately requested me to accompany her the next morning on a visit to the President. She was now Mrs. Perkins, wife of a distinguished member of the Confederate Congress from Louisiana, a planter of great wealth, who, at the close of the war, had gone to Mexico to await the results. I could not decline her request. I recalled the time when I had intervened in behalf of General Bayley.

On Monday morning I accompanied Mrs. Perkins to the Executive Mansion, and we had an interview with the President. Mrs. Perkins stated the object of her visit—to obtain a pardon for Mr. Perkins. The President asked : "Where is Mr. Perkins ?" "In Mexico," replied Mrs. Perkins. "Well," said the President, "he must come back to his flag." She then inquired if the President would grant him a pardon upon his return. He said,

smiling: "You see what is going on here; you must draw your own inferences." I then said to Mrs. Perkins that she could not expect the President to do more. We took leave, Mrs. Perkins much cheered with the President's words.

The emancipation of the slave was the inevitable result of the war between the States. It was a great step in the march of civilization; slavery was an anachronism in the nineteenth century; its abolition was in harmony with the spirit of the age.

The South is relieved of an incubus, and has advanced with the stride of a giant in the progress of the nations—in the development of a grander, truer, happier civilization. The emancipated slaves are secured, too, in the enjoyments of their rights under the law which grants them equal protection.

It is yet to be seen how the measure granting them the ballot will work. It seemed to me that they should have been trained by a gradual method for the exercise of this great function. So far, it has disturbed the harmony of the races. No man is more sincerely the friend of the negro than myself; my life has shown it; but I firmly believe that the supremacy of the white race is absolutely essential to the existence of our social system in these Southern States.

The framers of our government never provided for the admission of the negro race into any participation in its administration. I stated my objection to the measure, when it was projected, in a public letter. Chief-Justice Chase, my personal friend, undertook to convince me that my distrust of the measure was unfounded, and addressed a letter to me, which is published in his interesting biography. It expresses his views in a statesmanlike manner, and, as he attached importance to the letter, I give it a place.

"TO HONORABLE HENRY W. HILLIARD,
etc., etc., etc.

"WASHINGTON, April 27, 1868.

" . . . Some days since I received, from an unknown hand, a paper containing a letter of yours, which I read with great interest.

"My acquaintance with you when we were both in Congress—you in the House and I in the Senate—was very slight; but, slight as it was, I take occasion from it to write you a few lines, suggested by your letter.

"Ever since the war closed I have been very anxious for the earliest practicable 'restoration' of the States of the South, to their proper relations to the other States of the Union. I adopt your own statement of the problem to be worked out, because I agree with you in the opinion, that these 'States have never been other than States within the Union since they became parties to the federal government, and that the failure to maintain their assertions of independence in the conflict of arms which followed, left them States still within the Union.'

"The point on which I probably differ from you is this: the people for whom and through whom these States were to be organized at the close of the war was not, as I think, the same people as that which existed in them when the war began.

"In my judgment the refusal of the proprietary class, if it may be so called, to recognize this fact and its legitimate and indeed logical consequences, and the convictions of large majorities in the States which adhered to the national government in respect to it, caused most of the trouble of the last three years.

"I have not time to go at large into this subject, but I may say briefly, that emancipation came to be regarded by these majorities as a military necessity; that the faith of the nation was pledged, by the proclamation of emancipation, to maintain the emancipated people in the possession and enjoyment of the freedom it conferred; that to this end the amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery throughout the United States

was proposed and ratified ; that, becoming freemen, the emancipated people became necessarily citizens ; and that as citizens they were entitled to be consulted in respect to reorganization, and to the means of self-protection by suffrage. This is a very brief, but I think a perfectly correct statement of what may be called, for the sake of brevity, the Northern view of this matter. It would, perhaps, be more correct to call it the loyal view North and South, using the word loyal as distinguishing the masses who support the national government from the masses who opposed it during the war.

“ Now the particular matter to which I wish to draw your attention is, whether policy and duty do not require the class which I have called proprietary, meaning thereby the educated and cultivated men of the South—whether property holders or not—to accept this view fully and act upon it. Is it possible to doubt that, had this view been accepted and acted upon three years ago, after the surrender of Lee and Johnston, the Southern States would have been richer to-day by hundreds of millions than they are, and that long ago, universal amnesty, and the removal of all disabilities would have prepared the hearts of men on both sides for a real Union ? Can it be a matter of question that the colored voters, finding in the educated classes true friendship, evidenced by full recognition of their rights and practical acts of good-will, would have gladly given to those classes, substantially, their old lead in affairs, directed now, however, to union and not to disunion ; to the benefit of all, and not exclusively to the benefit of a class ?

“ I observe you say that the attempt to carry on the government with the privilege of universal suffrage incorporated as one of its elements, is full of danger. Danger is the condition of all governments ; because no form of government ensures wise and beneficent administration. But I beg you to consider, is there not a greater danger without than with universal suffrage ? You cannot make suffrage less than universal for the whites, and will not the attempt to discriminate excite such jealousies and ill-feeling as will postpone to the distant future what seems so essential, namely, the restoration of general good will, and bringing into lead the educated men and the

men of property, and so securing the best and most beneficial administration of affairs for all classes? take universal suffrage and universal amnesty, and all will be well. Can you, my dear sir, devote your fine powers to a better work than complete restoration on this basis? . . ."

Of course I do not look for any change in the status of the negro; his right to the ballot will never be revoked, and he should be allowed to exercise the privilege conferred on him freely.

The future of our country is full of promise; the tone of our people is American, and the enlightening and elevating power of Christianity will exert still greater influence over our national life in the cycles that open before us.





CHAPTER XXIX.

President Hayes—Hon. Richard W. Thompson—Hon. William M. Evarts—
Mission to Brazil—Steamer *Russia*—London—Paris—Stuttgart—Voy-
age from Bordeaux to Rio de Janeiro—Arrival—First Impressions.

PRESIDENT HAYES was inaugurated on Monday, March 5, 1877. His address on the occasion was of a high order; it was distinguished for its breadth of view and patriotic tone. It prepared the country for his statesmanlike course at the outset of his administration.

He promptly removed the United States troops from the States where they had been in antagonism with the civil authority; he recognized the right of local government; and he adopted measures for the promotion of a speedy reconciliation between all sections of the Union.

The supremacy of the Constitution was restored.

He organized a Cabinet composed of statesmen of ability, character, and well-earned reputation.

I made a visit to Washington shortly after Mr. Hayes entered upon his administration. I met him for the first time at a reception given by Mrs. Hayes, and was treated with consideration. Calling at the White House at an informal evening reception, I enjoyed a conversation with Mrs. Hayes, and appreciated the manners and the qualities which already distinguished her, and which won for her, while she presided at the social entertainments given at the Executive Mansion, friends from all parts of the country, who then admired her, and who still revere her memory.

Hon. Richard W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, was a friend whom I had known intimately when we served in Congress. We were Whigs, and attracted to each other by our strong sympathy upon other subjects. His abilities won for him distinction, and his exalted character gave him a high rank in the country. Soon after my arrival in Washington, I passed an evening at Mr. Thompson's residence, and he informed me that the President would offer me a place in the diplomatic service. I had not said anything to the President in regard to an appointment under his administration, and was grateful for this unsolicited mark of his favor. Mr. Thompson made known to me the President's views, and proposed to accompany me to the Department of State, and introduce me to Mr. Evarts.

The next morning we called on Mr. Evarts, and I was presented to him. The great reputation of the Secretary of State was of course well known to me, but I had not met him before. I appreciated the cordial reception which he gave me. I had two interviews with him in regard to the mission which might be offered for my acceptance. After an extended conversation upon the subject, it was understood that upon the return of the Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis from Germany, I should be appointed to succeed him; he had given notice of his purpose to come home, but had not stated at what time he would relinquish his post. On a visit to Washington some time later, I was informed by Mr. Evarts that the mission to Germany was not yet vacant. He stated that the Minister to Brazil had forwarded his resignation, and suggested that I could be appointed to it, if I would accept it; but that my ideas, he knew, were all European, and that the place might not be agreeable to me. He proposed that I should see the President. I called on the President immediately and made known to him what had occurred at the Department of State. He said he did not

know when the mission to Berlin would be vacant ; but that my appointment to Brazil would be made immediately if I would accept it. I said : " Mr. President, ought I to accept it ? " He replied that he did not like to speak for another man, but as a large number of Southern men had gone to Brazil at the close of the war, I might render important service to the country by accepting the mission to Rio. I said that after having heard the expression of his views in regard to the mission to Brazil, I could not hesitate to accept it.

The appointment was promptly made, and returning home I made my arrangements for an early departure.

I sailed with my family from New York in the steamship *Russia* of the Cunard Line, on a bright morning for Liverpool. It was not a new ship, but possessed certain advantages, and excluded steerage passengers. The captain had long experience in conducting a ship across the Atlantic ; he was second in command of the *Columbia*, on which I had made a voyage years before with Captain Judkins. Everything was auspicious ; the weather was fine ; we were on a summer sea ; and the passengers were agreeable people. Our two daughters had never before been on the sea, but they were not much disturbed by the waves. The daily walk on the deck of the ship, and the cheerful surroundings, relieved the monotony of the voyage.

A bright day welcomed us upon our arrival at Liverpool, and we passed a few hours there in looking at some objects of interest.

Our travel to London on the railway was pleasant ; the glimpses we caught of scenery—the fields rich with grain, the whole aspect of a country under fine cultivation—were enjoyed by us. As we approached London everything interested us ; and when we entered the great metropolis we felt that we were in a city full of attractions for us. We took apartments at the Charing Cross Hotel, and

found it good. It was thoroughly English in all its appointments, and the ladies enjoyed it. I called at the banking-house of Messrs. Morton, Rose, & Co., the bankers of the United States in London, and had a most agreeable interview with them.

Our sight-seeing in London was limited by the short time which we gave to it. To an American, Westminster Abbey is the most interesting place in London ; its historic glory, its mementos of monarchs, of the mighty dead who served the Church and the State, its scholars, its poets—all awaken emotions which no other spot in Europe can excite.

Fine weather still favored us ; the travel to Dover, the brief run over the Channel, and the stepping on the soil of France were all enjoyed by us. As I landed at Calais an official person in handsome uniform addressed me as "General," and asked if I were "English." I replied : "No, American !" He gave me a military salute. It was an unexpected tribute to my soldierly appearance, and amused us as a mark of French politeness. The travel to Paris from Calais was delightful ; we saw France under its most pleasing aspect, and were much charmed by the expanding view of that beautiful country. England awakens in me emotions which no other country in the world can excite, outside of my own native land. I feel that I can claim a part in its glorious history ; its language, religion, law, are mine ; but I love France, and I find an unfailing interest in looking upon its sunny plains, and seeing its bright, cheerful people. To heighten the charm of the view an afternoon shower came up, and a resplendent rainbow spanned the fair fields through which we were passing. We reached Paris before sunset, and caught the first view of that beautiful city under a clear sky. We drove to the Hotel Meurice, and took apartments. This charming hotel is in the Rue de Rivoli, opposite the Gardens of the Tuileries, and I preferred it

to any hotel in Europe. I was a guest there upon my first visit to Paris.

We could not linger in that most attractive of all cities, proposing to make a later visit, and pass some time there. The view which the ladies caught of it was delightful.

It was my purpose before leaving home to take my family to Stuttgart and arrange for a year's residence for them while I proceeded to Rio. In Paris I met Mr. Partridge, my predecessor at the court of Brazil; he expected me, and called on me promptly. He devoted his time to me and rendered important service in posting me as to affairs in Brazil, and in other ways. I informed him of my purpose to leave my family in Stuttgart; he thoroughly approved it, and said that it would be well to arrange for their residence there during my stay at Rio. He informed me that several members of the Diplomatic Corps left their families in Europe. The climate at Rio at certain seasons of the year was such as to make it undesirable as a residence. A leave of absence obtained from time to time would enable me to visit my family, who would in the meanwhile enjoy advantages which could not be secured in Brazil.

After a brief but a very pleasant stay in Paris we proceeded to Stuttgart. The travel from Paris to Stuttgart interested us. We had a view of Strasbourg, its grand cathedral rising before us with its lofty spire higher than the Great Pyramid of Egypt, and we crossed the Rhine.

Stuttgart makes a fine impression on the visitor from the first hour of his arrival. Its railway station is magnificent, and it has one of the best hotels in Europe. This charming place, seated in the midst of vine-clad hills, possessed every advantage as a residence for Mrs. Hilliard and our daughters. As a school for music it is not excelled in Europe. I succeeded in making satisfactory arrangements for my family. Mr. Potter, our Consul, gave us his best services, and I found in Mr. Schulz, an

eminent banker, a gentleman who undertook to provide facilities for meeting the requirements of Mrs. Hilliard during her stay.

Returning to Paris, I found that I was too late to secure a passage in the French steamer for Rio. I engaged a passage in one of the ships of the Pacific Line of Royal Mail Steamers, which, leaving Liverpool, called at Bordeaux for passengers.

The voyage from Bordeaux to Rio was delightful. We called at Lisbon, and I was impressed by the magnificence of the view which the city presented. It is a grand amphitheatre, spreading over hills, which are covered with palaces, churches, and private residences, constituting a beautiful picture.

The ocean was tranquil, and day after day we enjoyed the voyage, which revealed to us, as we approached the coast of South America, scenery which was new to us, and in the full verdure of tropical luxuriance. At night the heavens were magnificent; the constellations shone with a splendor that we had never before witnessed, and the unclouded firmament revealed to us its full beauty.

Pernambuco was the first place we saw on the coast of Brazil; its towers, and the domes of its public buildings, rising to view out of the water as we approached it. We did not enter the city; it was inaccessible to our large ship. We had a view, far to the right, of Olinda, a beautiful suburb seated on a hill in the midst of palm trees and *bananeiros*. Its once famous law school, with its three hundred students, no longer exists. A natural reef protects the harbor of Pernambuco, and those who visit it are taken in small boats through the rough sea to the city. Pernambuco is a place of commercial importance, and is the greatest sugar mart in Brazil.

When we arrived at Bahia, a great city, the second in importance in the empire, we found that the French steamer, in which I so much desired to secure a passage,

was a wreck. It had foundered on a rock near the entrance of the harbor and sank so rapidly that the passengers barely escaped with their lives, losing not only their trunks, but their satchels—not even saving their jewelry. It was an impressive illustration of the truth so often shown us in life, that it is better to submit ourselves to the guidance of a Divine Providence than to undertake to shape our own ends. If I had been on board the French steamer I should have lost not only my valuables but the papers from my government which accredited me to the Imperial Government of Brazil.

As we approached Rio de Janeiro the scenery which rose to view was surpassingly beautiful; not only was the tropical verdure in perfection, but the whole aspect of the coast far transcended anything in sublimity that I had seen in any country. The morning was bright; not a cloud shut out of view any point of the unrivalled picture that opened before us. There was a blended majesty and beauty—an expanding stretch of water, a range of mountains towering to great heights, on some sides precipitous and bare, and on others robed in the green verdure of the tropics.

The Bay of Rio de Janeiro is the most beautiful in the world. The harbor is entered through a deep and narrow passage between two granite mountains, and yet the entrance is so safe that the presence of a pilot is not required. Gardner, an English botanist, gives a description of it :

“It is quite impossible to express the feelings which arise in the mind while the eye surveys the beautiful, varied scenery which was disclosed on reaching the harbor—scenery which is perhaps unequalled on the face of the earth, and in the production of which nature seems to have exerted all her energies. Since then I have visited many places celebrated for their beauty and grandeur, but none of them have left a like impression on my mind. As far as the eye can reach lovely

little verdant and palm-clad islands were to be seen rising out of its dark bosom, while the hills and lofty mountains which surround it on all sides, gilded by the rays of the setting sun, formed a befitting frame for such a picture.

Looking about you, after passing the narrow entrance, you see on the left the Sugar Loaf towering up twelve hundred feet in height, while the Corcavado, seen on the other side of the city, rises twenty-three hundred feet. In the distance, through an opening in the bay, the peaks of the Organ mountains rise into view.

While our steamer awaited the visit of the officers whose business it is to inspect it, a number of American residents at Rio engaged a boat, and decorating it with the United States flag, came on board to welcome me; I was cheered by this warm welcome from my countrymen, and expressed my deep sense of their kind consideration.

As I ascended the steps at the landing I was met by two gentlemen, Mr. Greenough and Colonel Shannon, who awaited me and gave me a reception, which was the beginning of a life-long friendship.

When I entered the apartments reserved for me at the *Hôtel des Étrangères* I was surprised to see on the walls three portraits which interested me. One of General Washington, one of King Leopold I. of Belgium, and one of the Queen. The pictures seemed to welcome me.





CHAPTER XXX.

Palace of San Cristovão—Emperor and Empress—Colonel Richard Cutts Shannon—Imperial Family—Count Koskul, Russian Minister—Season in Rio—Tijuca—Mr. Gillett, Navy Agent—Mr. Midwood—Apartments in Rio—Mr. Wilson.

THE imperial palace of San Cristovão is situated so beautifully that the spot where it stands is named Boa Vista. It is an impressive structure, and the views from it are charming. The approach to it reveals the mountain range of Tijuca behind it, crowned with the unchanging verdure of tropical scenery.

Soon after my arrival in Rio I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a day was appointed for my presentation to the Emperor.

The evening was fine, and I drove to the palace accompanied by Colonel Shannon, who had been Secretary of Legation under my predecessor, Mr. Partridge, but who had before my arrival resigned his post. He still resided in Rio, and was associated with Mr. Greenough, the founder of the Botanical Garden Railroad. I was so fortunate as to induce him to resume his functions in the absence of a secretary ; and his acquaintance with the court enabled him to render me important services. A scholarly, accomplished gentleman, no one could be better qualified for the place.

Upon reaching the palace we were conducted to a large reception room, and awaited the time when I was to be presented to his Majesty. About the same time Mr.

Potestad, the newly appointed Spanish Minister, entered the room and awaited his presentation. I was soon informed that the Emperor would receive me, and we entered the Throne Room, where I was presented to his Majesty by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Emperor stood in front of the throne, and, accompanied by Colonel Shannon, I advanced, and being announced as the Minister of the United States of America, I addressed his Majesty, delivering a speech prepared for the occasion, without notes. I said :

“Honored in having been chosen to represent the United States of America near the Imperial Government of Brazil, I come to give assurances to your Majesty of the warm friendship which the President entertains for you personally, and the earnest desire which he feels to draw still closer the ties which already bind the two great nations to each other.

“The recent visit of your Majesty to our country has made you well known to our government and to our people, and it has heightened their respect and strengthened their regard for the ruler of this great Empire. Coming to us at a time when we were celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of our existence as an independent government, we appreciated your interest in our growth as a nation, and the success of our free political institutions.

“A deeper interest was given to your Majesty’s visit by the presence of the Empress, who, when she left our shores, bore with her the warm regards of our whole people.

“The magnificent display, too, of the products and industry of Brazil, at the International Exhibition, has increased our desire to strengthen the commercial relations between the two countries, and we hope soon to witness an improvement in the means for the accomplishment of that object. Greater facilities for a rapid transit between the principal ports of the United States and those of Brazil are so important to the travel and trade of the two countries that they must soon be provided.

'It shall be my aim, while I have the honor to represent my country here, to contribute all that I can to strengthen the friendship that already exists between the United States and Brazil, and to promote the interests of both by encouraging a more active commercial intercourse between them.

"There are considerations which make it most important to cultivate relations of perfect friendship. Occupying a large part of this American continent, we are charged with the grand interests of those who to-day live under the protection of the two governments, and with the destinies of coming generations. Separated from Europe by an ocean, we shall not be disturbed by the conflicting interests of their governments, and we shall be able to co-operate with each other in the peaceful development of the vast resources which our countries contain. In the order of Providence, we are neighbors, and holding such relations, neither country can be indifferent to the growth, prosperity, and happiness of the other. Spreading out the map of the world, it is impossible to overlook the important relations which must ever exist between the United States and Brazil; there can be no conflict between their interests, and there should be as little restriction as possible on their trade.

"I hope the coming centuries will witness the growth of both nations, not only in wealth and power, but in Christian civilization, and in the development of the principles of good government.

"I have the honor to deliver to your Majesty a letter from the President of the United States, accrediting me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near your Majesty's Government."

His Majesty replied in a brief speech of welcome, expressing his deep interest in the United States, and his consideration for me personally as the representative of its government.

I bowed and left the Throne Room, going into the adjoining reception room.

The Minister of Spain was then presented to the Emperor, and delivered his credentials.

Presently his Majesty entered the reception room, and, coming to me, engaged for some time in friendly conversation. The appearance of the Emperor was impressive: his physique was magnificent,—upwards of six feet in height, and finely proportioned; his head well developed, and his intellectual face expressive of generous qualities, gave him an air of distinction.

Taking leave of me, he advanced to Mr. Potestad, the Spanish Minister.

I was then conducted to the Empress, whose reception room was at the other end of the palace. Her Majesty received me graciously, standing and attended by two or three ladies of her court. Her appearance was prepossessing, the face expressing amiable qualities, and her manner animated and pleasing. After a brief conversation with the Empress, I took leave.

The imperial family was of great distinction on both sides. The Emperor's lineage embraces the Braganzas, the Bourbons, and the Hapsburgs. He is the son of Dom Pedro I., whose brilliant career displayed great qualities, and illustrated the history of Brazil and Portugal. He gave up two thrones, and was only in the forty-third year of his age at the time of his death. There were some striking incidents that preceded his abdication of the imperial throne in favor of his son. A violent, popular outbreak occurred; a demand was made upon him for the reinstatement of a Cabinet he had dismissed; he refused to yield, and exclaimed: "I will do everything for the people, but nothing by the people." The insurgent populace grew impatient; the Emperor stood up firmly; he was full of courage and dignity in vindicating his imperial authority under the constitution. At last, finding himself unsupported, at a late hour of the night, all alone, he wrote his abdic-

tion, full of dignity, and delivered it to the messenger from the people.

"Availing myself of the right which the Constitution concedes to me, I declare that I have voluntarily abdicated in favor of my dearly beloved and esteemed son, Dom Pedro de Alcantaro.

"Boa Vista, 7th of April, 1831; tenth year of the Independence of the Empire."

Soon after he embarked for Lisbon in the *Warspite*, an English line-of-battle ship, accompanied by the ladies of his family, the Empress—his second wife—daughter of Prince Eugene Beauharnais, and his eldest daughter, lately Queen of Portugal.

The mother of Dom Pedro II. was Leopold Dina, Arch-Duchess of Austria and sister of Maria Louisa, who married the Emperor Napoleon after his separation from Josephine. She was greatly beloved in Rio.

The Empress, Donna Theresa, too, was of a family greatly distinguished. She was a daughter of his Majesty Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies. One of her sisters married a son of Charles X. of France, and another was the Queen of Spain.

Dom Pedro II. was but five years of age at the time of his father's abdication, and a regency took charge of the government. In 1840 the regency was abolished, and the accession of Dom Pedro II. to the full exercise of his prerogative as an emperor was declared. His coronation took place with great splendor on July 18, 1841.

The marriage of the young Emperor and the Princess Donna Theresa was solemnized at Naples in the spring of 1843, and a Brazilian squadron, fitted up to conduct the Empress to her new home, arrived at Rio in September.

The Imperial Prince, Dom Affonso, was born in 1844, but died the next year.

The Princess Isabella was born in 1846, and in 1864 was married to Prince Louis Philippe d'Orleans, Count d'Eu, the eldest son of the Duke de Nemours.

The Princess Leopold Dina was born in 1847, and married the Prince Auguste de Saxe-Coburg in 1864; she died in 1871, leaving four sons.

The Princess Isabella was the presumptive heir to the throne, and was regent during the Emperor's absence from Brazil. At the time of my residence in Rio, Princess Isabella was the mother of two sons. She was recognized as a superior woman, handsome, accomplished, and full of character.

Count Koskul, the Russian Minister, occupied apartments in the Hôtel des Étrangers near my own. I was pleased with him at our first meeting, and our intercourse grew into friendly interest. A superior man, of fine attainments, agreeable manners, and a large acquaintance with the world, he always attracted me. We both felt that there could be no rivalry between us as the representatives of two great nations whose traditional friendship was well known. Like myself, the Count was alone, having left his wife in Europe, and we found ourselves constantly brought together. Our walks were cheered by each other's presence and conversation.

I had arrived at Rio in October, and felt the heat even then oppressive. The seasons south of the equator are the reverse of ours in Europe and in the United States. The heated term in Rio begins in November and continues until April, and at some seasons longer. It is not an agreeable or a safe residence during that term; the yellow fever prevails. The imperial family pass the time in Petropolis, a beautiful place some thirty miles from the city in the midst of the mountains. The Diplomatic Corps and many of the wealthy citizens seek retreats either at Tijuca or Petropolis. I had made a visit to the family of Mr. Gillett at Tijuca, and found the place most

attractive. The scenery is beautiful beyond description, the air fine, and the families, who live in tasteful and sometimes elegant homes, are people of culture and refinement. I decided, therefore, to take apartments in an English hotel some two miles distant from Mr. Gillett's residence. Tijuca, though situated in the mountains, is only some ten miles distant from Rio, and is not regarded as a perfectly safe retreat. There is daily intercourse with the city, and one unconsciously loses his sense of danger by visits to a place where the deadly fever prevails. Still I was controlled by my inclinations rather than by my apprehension, and became a guest at the *Estabelecimento White*, as it was called.

Mr. Francis Gillett was the United States Navy agent at Rio, where he had his office, and which his clerks attended daily. But his residence was at Tijuca, and a more attractive place I do not know in Brazil. He was from Indiana, young, accomplished, with every good quality. His wife was a lovely woman and an admirable representative of our countrywomen, with the most pleasing manners, bright, hospitable, and true as a woman ever was. She had two daughters—one about seventeen, at home with her, and a younger one absent at school. It would not be too much to say that Mr. Gillett's home reminded me of Blennerhassett's described by Wirt in his splendid speech delivered on the trial of Burr.

There was a young Englishman, Mr. Midwood, connected with one of the great commercial houses in Rio, in which his father, who resided in Birmingham, had a large interest, and he was engaged to Miss Gillett.

At a dinner, given at Mr. Gillett's residence, where I was one of the invited guests, the engagement of the young people was announced. Everything was propitious. Week after week went by, and the coming wedding was delayed, awaiting the arrival of the Bishop of the Falk-

land Islands, whose diocese embraces Rio, and who was to solemnize the marriage.

A sudden change came over this bright scene. About the middle of February, Mr. Gillett returned from a business meeting with an officer of the United States Navy in the evening, and was somewhat indisposed. His illness soon disclosed an attack of yellow fever, and in the course of two or three days he died.

Mrs. Gillett, with her daughters, came to the hotel where I was residing, and passed some two weeks there. Mr. Midwood was already a guest there. Mrs. Gillett conferred with me in regard to the immediate marriage of Miss Gillett to Mr. Midwood; and in view of the circumstances, I advised it. Her home had been thoroughly disinfected, and she returned to it. The day for the marriage at the English Church in Rio had been agreed on, and I was to give the bride away. I was preparing to take a carriage and call for the ladies at an early hour, when a gentleman called on me to say that Mr. Midwood was too ill to go to Rio that day. I went instantly to the apartment of Mr. Midwood, and found him much indisposed, and distressed at being unable to keep his engagement that morning. I said that I would call at once at Mrs. Gillett's, and arrange for a postponement of the marriage until his convalescence. Miss Gillett, during our interview, controlled her emotions, and said that she would write a note to Mr. Midwood to cheer him, and hoped that he was not distressed by the temporary postponement. Her bearing was admirable, and heightened my regard for her. Upon my return to the hotel, I called on Mr. Midwood to deliver the note, but he was too languid to read it. In the course of a day or two he died of yellow fever.

Two days later, Mrs. Gillett followed Mr. Gillett and Mr. Midwood, all victims of that fatal fever which prevailed in Rio.

This illustrates what occurs at some seasons in that great city, so rich in everything, and clothed with unchanging tropical verdure.

There was an incident that heightened the dramatic effect of this scene. A brother of Mr. Midwood, who had come from England to be present at the marriage, was informed of his death before leaving the ship, and he declined to come ashore, but returned home in the ship that brought him over.

Friends surrounded Miss Gillett and her sister, and did everything that they could to cheer them,—took them to their homes, and arrangements were made for their early return to the United States.

In the course of a few weeks I returned to Rio, and engaged a suite of apartments in one of the most elegant and pleasant houses in the city, near the *Hôtel des Étrangers*.

Soon after my first arrival in Rio, I made the acquaintance of a gentleman to whom I was afterwards indebted for constant attentions during my residence there, and who entertained with unsurpassed elegance—Mr. Wilson. He called on me early, and I found in his beautiful home a place where, from time to time, I met some of the most agreeable people in the city. He was distinguished for his wealth and the elegant style in which he lived, and Mrs. Wilson and her daughters, who were greatly admired, made their home very attractive to their visitors.





CHAPTER XXXI.

Trade-Mark Treaty—Botanical Garden Railroad—Mr. Greenough—Evening at Mr. Wilson's—Madame Durand—Tamagno—Leave of Absence—Visit to Stuttgart—Return to Rio.

AT the time of my appointment to the mission of Brazil the importance of adopting measures for the encouragement of commercial relations between the United States and that country had engaged the attention of our government. The great disproportion between the amount of our importations from Brazil and our exports to that country attracted the attention of the business men of the United States. They brought the subject to the notice of the administration, and an inquiry was set on foot to ascertain the causes which produced it. We purchased much the larger part of the coffee crop of Brazil, and an immense quantity of her india-rubber; and yet England, through her great commercial establishments in the empire, supplied the people with products to an amount far in excess of those sent from the United States. It is stated that in 1878 the United States purchased one third of all the exports of Brazil, while our exports to that country did not amount to a seventh part of her imports.

The cause which had injured the sale of our products in Brazil was clearly understood to be the counterfeit of American trade-marks by foreigners. Inferior goods in imitation of those of good quality produced in the United States were sent to Brazil, bearing the trade-marks of

American producers. So great had been the increase of the balance of trade with Brazil against the United States, resulting from this cause, that our government decided to take measures for the protection of our commerce.

Early in the summer of 1878 I received instructions from Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, to ascertain if a treaty could be negotiated with the imperial government for the protection of American trade-marks, and stating that if I could obtain an expression from the government favorable to such a convention between the two countries, I should be invested with the proper power to negotiate it. I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and discussed the subject with him. He assented to my proposition, and said he was satisfied that the conclusion of such a treaty would benefit the commerce of both countries.

Upon the receipt of my despatch to Mr. Evarts informing him of the result of my interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he brought the subject to the attention of the President. He sent me a commission investing me with full power and authority in the name of the United States, to confer with any person invested with like authority by his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and to negotiate with him a treaty for the protection of our trade-marks.

Soon after being invested with this power I negotiated a treaty with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and we both signed it, representing our governments. I forwarded the treaty to Mr. Evarts, and he submitted it to the President, who sent it to the Senate with a message recommending its ratification. The Senate acted promptly in accordance with the President's message, and ratified the treaty. The importance of the treaty was appreciated at home. The following reference is made to it in a recent edition of that interesting and valuable book "Brazil and the Brazilians":

"A third cause which has stood in the way of American commerce in Brazil has been the counterfeit of American trade-marks by unscrupulous foreigners. But the trade-mark treaty, or convention, recently effected by the United States Minister Plenipotentiary, the Honorable Mr. Hilliard, will, it is to be hoped, do away with this hindrance to American manufactures. A recent letter from Rio de Janeiro to New York says: 'The moral and material advantages secured by this convention will be of inestimable service in our commercial relations with Brazil, and through it I shall hope to see in good time a great part of the fraudulently called American goods driven out of this market.'"

There are several street-car lines in Rio, which contribute much to the comfort of the people of that great city. From the central part of the city the suburbs extend for miles in several directions, and its five hundred thousand inhabitants enjoy the increased facilities for travelling. Of these the Botanical Garden Railroad is by far the finest and the most important. Through the central part of the city, beginning at the Ouvidor, its finest street, it extends through the aristocratic quarter, Botafoga, to the magnificent Botanical Gardens, and to the suburb beyond them. This great tramway, one of the finest in the world, was constructed by a company organized by Mr. C. B. Greenough, of the State of New York, who possessed both capital and enterprise. His plan, when first submitted to the wealthy men of Rio, seemed to be impracticable, and he was able to enlist but few capitalists in its support. But soon after the completion of the road its success was such as to place its stock high in the market; and in the course of a year or two it was quoted at such a rate as to make its holders unwilling to part with it.

It was a great American enterprise, and its charter obtained from the imperial government secured the stockholders against any trespass on their right of way.

Another charter for a similar road had been obtained from the government, and its projectors from time to time seemed determined to push their line into contact with that of the Botanical Garden Railroad. I was frequently appealed to in behalf of those who held this great American property to intervene for its protection; and I never failed to do so successfully. The administration always vindicated the good faith of the government.

Mr. Greenough was an extraordinary man; his person, manners, and intellect were all fine, and his integrity was perfect. Unfortunately, the climate of Rio was not favorable to his health, and he said to me: "I must quit breathing this hot air." Mrs. Greenough, a noble woman, of engaging manners, and full of character, cheered him, and shared all the dangers of a residence at Rio with him to the last.

Mr. Greenough returned to the United States, leaving Colonel Shannon, in every way competent for the place, in charge of the road, and he conducted its affairs with great ability and fidelity.

Mr. Greenough resided for a time in Colorado, and hoped that its fine climate would restore his health, but not recovering his strength, he decided to go to Europe. Accompanied by Mrs. Greenough, he went to Paris, and took a house in the Boulevard Haussmann, fitting it up in accordance with their tastes. He was for a time benefited by this agreeable residence, but did not recover his failing strength. Returning from an evening drive he was fatigued, and, reclining on a sofa, died suddenly and painlessly. It was the peaceful close of a noble life.

I recall an evening passed at Mr. Wilson's; it was a very bright one, and illustrates life in Rio. Madame Marie Durand, an American prima-donna, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, was present. She was much admired at that season, and heightened the reputation

which she had won in Europe. She was a very handsome woman, her person full, and her bearing graceful; her dark hair and eyes, and a complexion that harmonized with them, gave her a look of Southern splendor that was very attractive. Her voice was rich, clear, and strong, and its tones were singularly sweet. She was intensely American. M. Tamagno, the celebrated tenor, was also a guest of the evening; even then he had a great reputation, which has been heightened by his success in Europe and the United States. His appearance was impressive—tall, erect, and finely proportioned.

In the course of the evening both Madame Durand and M. Tamagno consented to sing. Miss Wilson, who was a superb performer, seated herself at the piano, and rendered the instrumental music, while the two great singers sang a passage from the opera, *Ruy Blas*, in the highest style of their art. Those of us who were present enjoyed it very greatly.

Having obtained leave of absence I sailed for Europe in one of the Liverpool and Pacific Royal Mail steamers. As we approached Lisbon the sea became rough, and some of the passengers hoped that the steamer would not leave the port before morning; but the captain bravely took us out to sea. The view of Lisbon by night was splendid. The city seemed to be illuminated, and I enjoyed the brilliant spectacle until it was lost to sight. When we reached the Bay of Biscay we observed that a great storm had swept it, and its billows were still running high. We passed near two ships that had been wrecked.

I enjoyed a brief stay in Bordeaux. Leaving by an early train for Paris, I found the country covered with snow. After leaving that city the next day for Stuttgart, I observed that the snow extended to the Rhine.

My visit to Stuttgart was limited to a few days, but was a most agreeable one. My family were delightfully surrounded; several English residents were in Stuttgart,

who gave great interest to the society of the place. Mr. Gordon and his family were agreeable people, and gave me a reception during my stay.

Mr. Schulz, the banker, and his family had been unremitting in their attentions to Mrs. Hilliard and our daughters, and while I was there we were their guests at a splendid entertainment. A friendship grew up with that interesting family which still survives, and we continue to interchange letters. We receive from them from time to time marks of sincere regard. I met, too, one of our own countrywomen, who was a most agreeable lady, Mrs. Swann, a member of the family of Governor Swann, of Maryland.

We were projecting a visit to Italy when I received a cablegram from Mr. Evarts, stating that my leave of absence could not be extended. I therefore abandoned the proposed visit to that land so full of interest to me, and soon after took leave, and returned to Rio.





CHAPTER XXXII.

Petropolis—The Emperor—Mr. Ford, English Minister—Mr. Goschen, Secretary of Legation—Baron Schreiner, Austrian Minister—Mr. Nabuco—Return to Rio—Statesmen of Brazil—The Press.

PETROPOLIS, the summer residence of the imperial family, is in the midst of the mountains, about three thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is reached by an interesting line of travel. A short run across the bay, in a steamboat, brings the passengers to Maua, named for the baron who constructed the line of railroad, ten miles in length, which reaches the foot of the mountains. Here an animated scene is witnessed; carriages, from ten to thirty in number, drawn each by four mules, are in waiting to take the passengers to Petropolis. The Emperor's coach, too, is there for the service of his Majesty and family.

A magnificent road is constructed over the mountains, at an immense outlay of money by the government, which rivals any of the passes across the Alps. Some parts of this winding road over the steep ascent are brought in some places so near to other parts that the carriages passing in the other direction seem almost within reach of the hand. On reaching the summit, which is attained before sunset, one of the finest views in the world is spread out before you. The bay with its matchless beauty, the city of Rio, and the picturesque plain below present a picture which cannot be rivalled in the world. Here a large number of the residents of Petropolis drive out in their car-

riages to witness the arrival of the coaches and to welcome friends. I often witnessed this scene, and it never lost its interest for me.

Petropolis is in a valley, and the mountain sides are covered with the residences of the wealthy class of Rio, who make it a summer resort. Bright, clear streams, with walled banks run through the streets, and are crossed by ornamental bridges. The palace of the Emperor, surrounded by gardens, is beautifully situated near the centre of the place. Fine roads are seen stretching away in the distance, affording delightful walks and drives. Finer views of mountain stretches, of scenery surrounding the town, I have never seen. I have walked for hours through the enchanting country that meets the view in every direction.

The Emperor enjoys his summer sojourn here. He has his books, and takes short excursions, driving or walking. There are settlements in the neighborhood where colonists from Germany and Switzerland live in contentment.

I have met the Emperor walking in the streets of Petropolis as a private gentleman from time to time, when he would stand and converse with me in a pleasant social way. His ministers came from Rio to confer with him, and he made regular visits to the capital. The presence of several members of the Diplomatic Corps in Petropolis heightened the interest of this fine summer residence.

Mr. Ford, the English Minister, had a residence of rare attractions, where his daughter welcomed guests and gave brightness to the hospitable home. My intercourse with Mr. Ford was full of interest to me; his fine attainments, his sympathy with the people of my country, his scholarly tastes, and his genial disposition attracted me from the first hour of our meeting.

Mr. Goschen, Secretary of Legation, had married an American lady, a bright, beautiful woman, who still loved her country; and I always found his house one of the

most attractive places in Petropolis. He was a brother of Honorable Mr. Goschen, member of the House of Commons, who was so distinguished for his financial ability.

Baron Schreiner, the Austrian Minister, had a house there, and I found him an interesting man, a statesman of large experience and liberal views. He had served in the United States, and felt a warm regard for our country. The Baroness, a lady of culture and pleasing manners, still retained pleasant remembrances of Washington.

At that time a gentleman was passing the summer at Petropolis whom I had met in Rio, and of whom I had formed a high estimate—Mr. Nabuco. Young, thoroughly educated, already acquainted with Europe, having been attached to the Brazilian Embassy at London; of splendid physique and captivating manners, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and a statesman of high promise, he bestowed attentions upon me which were appreciated. In the whole course of my life I had met no one whose future seemed brighter. He was the son of an eminent man—a learned jurist and a great statesman, whose splendid career was cut short by death. The son promised to fulfil the destiny of his distinguished father. We were much together, meeting in society, and walking and driving day after day. He glittered in the firmament of his country like a morning star, and his subsequent career has fulfilled the promise of his youth. He already gave his support to measures for the advancement of his country in the march of nations. Ambitious, but unselfish, he devoted his fine powers to the cause of humanity. Foremost among those who desired the emancipation of the slaves, he had been elected president of the Anti-slavery Society of Brazil. *

At the close of the summer we returned to Rio—the Emperor, the Diplomatic Corps, and those who had sought a retreat from the discomfort and the danger of a residence at the capital during that season.

The opening of the session of the parliament gave animation and interest to the city.

The statesmen of Brazil exhibited great interest in public affairs. Some of them were men of culture, and had enjoyed the advantages of European travel. From an early period the statesmen of the empire had been distinguished for ability and learning. They had guided the political affairs of the country successfully. While some of the other states of South America had been disturbed by revolutions, the imperial government, under its liberal constitution, had exhibited a stability that won for it the respect and the confidence of other nations.

Those who controlled public affairs during my residence there were men of a high order, conservative and yet progressive, extending the protection of the government to the most remote part of the vast country which it embraced.

Its foreign representatives were recognized as men of ability and character, and illustrated the diplomatic service; they maintained the dignity of the imperial government.

The financial affairs of the nation were conducted with great success, and the public credit was high in the great commercial centres of Europe.

The press is as free and independent in Rio as it is in London and New York. The papers published there display enterprise and great ability; they are in full sympathy with the best journals of the great cities in Europe and the United States. The circulation of some of them is very large, and their influence is powerful over public sentiment.





CHAPTER XXXIII.

Leave of Absence to Visit the United States—Meet Mrs. Hilliard and Daughters in Paris—London—Sunday—Mr. Spurgeon—Evening Service in St. Paul's Cathedral—Liverpool—Voyage—New York—Washington—President Hayes—Georgia.

LEAVE of absence was granted me to visit home. Mrs. Hilliard and daughters had passed some three years in Stuttgart, and had greatly enjoyed their residence there. No place in Europe could have been more agreeable to them or offered greater advantages. They had made excursions to the Rhine, to Switzerland, and other attractive resorts. They now desired to return home.

Having obtained leave of absence from Rio to visit the United States, I arranged that my family should meet me in Paris. Anticipating my coming, they took leave of Stuttgart, and had been in Paris some time before I reached there. They met some agreeable people from our country in that city, and had with them already enjoyed some sight-seeing.

Upon my arrival we passed some days in looking through picture galleries, and visiting places of interest in the city and its environs. We enjoyed a visit to Versailles greatly. The magnificence of the palaces, the historic associations, the works of art—statues and pictures,—the gardens and fountains were objects of attraction to us for hours. Two works of art specially interested the ladies. One was David's picture of the coronation of Napoleon, which I had seen before. The Emperor, self-

crowned, heroic, in robes which recalled the glory of antiquity, placed the diadem upon the head of Josephine, who knelt before him; the surrounding objects were reminders of unparalleled triumphs.

The other—the statue which represents Napoleon at St. Helena in his declining days, seated, the grand head, the open drapery revealing the frame wasting under the touch of disease, the map of Europe spread before him, his right hand resting upon France, his eyes expressing the depth of a shadow that was upon his soul—constituted the most impressive work of the sculptor that I had ever seen.

We took leave of Paris with regret; when we reached Calais and embarked for Dover we found the channel rough, but the day was bright, and we bore up cheerfully through our short run to Dover.

Once more in London we took apartments at the Charing Cross Hotel. We waited over until after Sunday, which is a day of real interest to me in London. Sunday morning opened brightly, and we made our way to Spurgeon's Tabernacle. The doors were not yet opened, and a large number of people stood waiting to be admitted; we were so fortunate as to find a friendly usher as we entered, who conducted us to the first gallery, and found places for us near the pulpit, where we had a good view of the preacher and the audience. There must have been upwards of six thousand people present, many of them standing, and a large number filling the doorways. Mr. Spurgeon had not yet entered. I studied with interest the picture before me. The auditorium was immense, and in the form of an amphitheatre, with galleries rising one above the other. The pulpit was a desk placed on a wide platform, upon which several gentlemen—official persons—were seated. I had never seen the great preacher who had awakened such a wonderful religious interest in London, and who had already

brought thousands to make a public profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. When he came in and took a seat on the platform, his appearance was so unlike the ideal picture of him I had drawn, that I supposed for a moment that another minister had come to take his place for the occasion, and felt something of resentment against him. There was nothing of intellectual force in his expression, his bearing was quiet, and there was no promise of oratorical power in his appearance. But when he rose and advanced to the desk to open the services, all this was changed. He read the hymn impressively, and the opening prayer was most impressive. His voice, clear, rich, and sympathetic, was heard uttering an earnest appeal to the throne of grace. I was touched by his supplication, which he offered for the great English-speaking nation beyond the sea. When the prayer was ended, my impression of the man was strangely altered; I could not see where his power lay, but there was a latent force in him which might be expressed, when he came to rouse himself, in a way to bring the whole audience under his influence. There was no instrumental music, but a precentor rose and led the singing, while the vast audience joined in it, swelling it into a great volume of praise. The passage of Scripture upon which he proceeded to deliver his discourse was taken from 1st Samuel, 12th chapter, embracing the first five verses. As he proceeded to describe the scene, Samuel standing up before all Israel and calling upon the people to say, now that he was about to retire from the great office which he had so long filled, a king having been appointed, according to their request, if he had wronged any man, or taken a bribe out of any man's hand, or oppressed any man; the scene rose before us with the vividness and impressiveness of real life. We could hear the voice of the people saying: "Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught of any man's hand." The

discourse was a grand statement of the principles of the Divine government, as represented throughout his administration, and the willing tribute of the people to him was a glorious triumph.

In the evening we attended divine services in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was a splendid service, held under the dome, where seats were provided for three thousand persons. There were a large number of ministers present who wore their robes, and a great company of choristers thronged the place. The whole service was magnificent. The spectacle was a grand display of the Church of England in the fulness of its ecclesiastical strength. The sermon was good, impressing upon us the importance of contributing our full influence to advancing the power of Christ's kingdom.

In the course of a day or two we left London for Liverpool ; the weather was fine, and the journey was delightful. England was beautiful in its summer verdure. We had engaged state-rooms in the *Celtic* of the White Star Line, and went on board the next day with much comfort. The ship was a fine one, and we enjoyed the voyage.

A bright morning welcomed us home, and the Bay of New York never appeared more beautiful.

We took apartments in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where I had for years been accustomed to stay. As I registered my name, the clerk looked up and said : " Mr. Hilliard, you have been a guest here before." I replied : " Yes, I had rooms here twenty years ago." He said : " I will give you the same suite of rooms that you occupied at that time." The suite of apartments was on the floor with parlors. We passed some days there receiving and visiting friends.

At Washington I stayed a day or two. The President received me with his accustomed friendly interest, and Mrs. Hayes welcomed me kindly. My family did not

stop, but continued their journey to Georgia, where relatives and friends were awaiting their coming.

The President was in sympathy with my views of the public service, and expressed himself in terms which were personally very gratifying to me.

After a brief stay in Washington, where I met my friend, Honorable B. H. Hill, and other gentlemen, I proceeded on my journey, and joined my family in Georgia.





CHAPTER XXXIV.

Return to Brazil, *via* England and France—London—House of Lords—
Lord Granville—Paris—Chamber of Deputies—Gambetta—General
Grant—Voyage from Bordeaux to Rio—Count Koskul—Arrival at Rio.

AFTER a brief visit to friends in Georgia, I returned to my post at Rio.

I reached New York in time to engage a state-room in the *Germanic*, of the White Star Line, and in this fine ship enjoyed the voyage to Liverpool.

When I arrived in London I decided to attend the session of the House of Lords. A great debate was to take place on the Irish question. As I entered the corridor leading to the House, I observed that there was a large attendance. Much as I desired to hear the debate, I did not send in my card, supposing that the discussion of a measure of such importance would be continued the next evening.

Upon opening *The Times* the next morning I saw that the great debate had been concluded the previous evening. Lord Salisbury, the Earl of Beaconsfield (Disraeli), Lord Granville, Lord Cairns, and other eminent men had taken part in it. I attended the session the next evening. Sending my card to Lord Granville, I was ushered into the House, and was shown a place occupied by persons admitted to the floor. Nothing of interest occurred.

The Earl of Beaconsfield had left the city in the morning for his country seat. This extraordinary man had greatly interested me; splendid in literature, brilliant in

debate, and great in statesmanship. I lost the opportunity of hearing him on the occasion when, roused into a rare display of his powers, he shone for the last time above the horizon. In the debate referred to, Lord Beaconsfield declared that the bill which he opposed was a prelude to the introduction of similar measures with reference to English land, and urged its rejection as an act "for which the country would be grateful, and posterity would be proud." Some time after the death of the Earl of Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone, on moving an address to the Crown for the erection of a monument to him, described him as "one who has sustained a great historic part, and done great deeds written on the page of parliamentary and national history." He paid a glowing tribute to Disraeli, distinguished for his power of self-government, his great parliamentary courage, and other great qualities; and expressed the conviction that in all the judgments delivered by the late statesman upon himself, his antagonist was never actuated by sentiments of personal antipathy.

In the course of a day or two I left for Paris. I took apartments at the Hôtel Meurice, and passed some days in the city, which I at all times visit with pleasure.

General Grant was passing some days there, arranging for his extensive travels. He had a suite of apartments in the Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme, and Mrs. Grant and other members of his family were with him. I called on General Grant, and was cordially welcomed. I had not met him since I had an interview with him in the White House. I was much interested in a conversation with General Grant, who referred to the past of our country's history in terms which exhibited the manliness of his nature, and the magnanimity of the great soldier who had conducted the armies of the United States to victory. He spoke to me with entire unreserve. In our interview at Washington, while he was President, he had spoken

with frankness, and now he was as clear and elevated in his tone as before. While President he had spoken to me in an evening's conversation with the frankness of a statesman who felt that past events belonged to history ; and in this interview his remarks were in the same tone.

Soon after his first inauguration, I called in the evening with a gentleman of Georgia, at his invitation, to bring to his attention the state of public affairs in the South. There was on my part no grievance to present, no protest to offer against the action of the government, but an assurance that our people were in good faith adjusting themselves to the new conditions under which they lived ; and I expressed the hope that no measures would be adopted to alter the status of the South. The statement of his views at that time was most satisfactory. He spoke of Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in terms of perfect candor, saying that when it was issued he regarded it as a war measure only—*brutem fulmen*—to strengthen the Union cause.

At our interview in Paris he said that he had intervened during President Johnson's administration for the protection of the men in Virginia who had been in the Confederate service against judicial proceedings, which he regarded as a violation of the terms made at the time of General Lee's surrender.

I had heretofore felt great respect for General Grant, and this sentiment was heightened by his remarks made to me in this interview.

The estimate of General Grant as a general leading great armies to final triumph, as a statesman administering the government at a critical period, and as a man of large capacity and noble nature, rises with every advancing year. His place in history is secure ; his heroic stature will be seen in still larger proportions when viewed through the telescope of time.

The Chamber of Deputies was in session, and I decided

to visit it. Presenting my card at the entrance I was admitted. The *coup d'œil* was interesting: the construction of the Chamber, the arrangement of the seats, the brilliant coloring, the chair for the President, the tribune,—everything was new to me. The animation of the members, the style of debate, and the whole aspect of the body interested me.

Gambetta presided; I saw him for the first time, and studied his appearance with deep interest. He was an impressive figure; his face was very fine, even in repose; the brow finely arched, the nose large and well formed, the chin prominent, and the whole expression was one of dominant intellect. The eyes were fine, and the blemish in one could not be observed from my seat; the form was well proportioned, somewhat full, and wearing an air of dignity. The man seated in the chair of authority seemed self-possessed; yet there was a look of sadness in his aspect, and the gentleness in his bearing did not express the tremendous energy of his nature. He was the lion in repose. The history of the man rose before me: the early struggle for recognition; the first flush of fame upon his brow; his splendid triumphs on the hustings and in the tribune; his impassioned oratory; his courageous assaults upon men of state intrenched in high places; his vehement denunciation of Louis Napoleon while yet an emperor; his rousing the people to the overthrow of a dynasty associated with past glories; his defiance of the army of powerful invaders in the very moment of their assured victory; his rallying the dispersed armies of France to avenge defeat and retrieve disaster; his consecration of himself to France when the darkest hour of her destiny deepened upon her;—all these came up as I saw Gambetta. His presence recalled the memory of Rienzi, the last of the Roman tribunes.

At Bordeaux I was much pleased to meet Count Koskul, who was returning from a visit to Russia; his

presence enlivened the voyage. Nothing occurred to hinder the course of our noble ship as it bore us over the placid waters from Europe to South America.

Upon our arrival at Rio we congratulated each other at having been passengers in the same ship, and resumed our places once more in the diplomatic circle.





CHAPTER XXXV.

Aspect of Political Affairs—Slavery Agitation—Mr. Nabuco, President of the Anti-Slavery Society—His Appeal to me to State the Result of Emancipation in the United States—Correspondence on the Subject—Excitement Produced by it—Interview with the Emperor.

THE imperial government of Brazil was one of limited powers; the constitution defined its authority. The reign of the Emperor, Dom Pedro II., was enlightened and liberal, maintaining the supremacy of law throughout the vast empire.

Upon my return to Rio from my visit to the United States, I observed the aspect of political affairs with interest. While there was a strong growing sentiment in favor of bringing the administration of the government under the influence of liberal ideas, there was no sign of hostility to the Emperor's authority; everywhere there was seen a picture of national contentment. Speculations were sometimes indulged in political circles as to the future; but it seemed to be understood that the Emperor's reign would continue to be upheld and respected. After the Emperor, no one could read the horoscope of the nation.

There was one subject which was warmly discussed—slavery. The law of September 28, 1871, passed under the lead of that great statesman, Visconde do Rio Branco, provided that the children of women slaves born in the empire from that date shall be considered to be free. But the million and a half of slaves born prior to Septem-

ber 28, 1871, were left still in hopeless bondage. Beneficent as the measure adopted was, still some forty or fifty years must elapse before slavery would cease to exist in the empire. Leading statesmen of the empire who desired to effect the total abolition of slavery immediately, organized a society for the accomplishment of that object, under the name of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society. Senhor Joaquim Nabuco was elected president of the new organization. He entered upon the task assigned him with ardor, and he soon won numerous friends and powerful supporters for the cause. The society encountered from the outset determined opposition; the large coffee and sugar planters, strongly represented in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, were roused into resistance to the proposed measure.

Mr. Nabuco was a member of the Chamber of Deputies from Pernambuco. He came to me and requested me to give my views as to the effect of the abolition of slavery in the United States. I was in sympathy with his opposition to slavery in Brazil, but I could not take part in the conflicts of parties in regard to a question which so deeply affected the fortunes of the empire. Still, while I declined to intervene in a great contest, officially I felt at liberty to reply to Mr. Nabuco's appeal, by giving a statement of the result of the abolition of slavery in the United States. It seemed eminently proper for me to do so, being a Southern man, and having had ample opportunity to observe the effect of emancipation in the slave-holding States, as it affected the planters of the South and the race that had been recently set free. In this interview with Mr. Nabuco, I said to him at its close: "If you think proper, Mr. Nabuco, to address me a letter upon that subject I will undertake to reply to it."

Soon after, Mr. Nabuco wrote me a letter alluding to my connection with slavery in the United States, I being a Southern man, and having been a member of the Whig

party, to which he referred in his letter, associating me with Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay, of whom he wrote in terms of admiration.

Upon receiving his letter I replied at length, treating the question of slavery historically, and as I had observed it actually in my own country. When I had completed my letter I called on Mr. Nabuco, and told him I had prepared it, at the same time handing him the manuscript. He seemed delighted that I had treated the question so largely. I then took the letter back to revise it.

In the first draft of my letter I had said nothing as to the time within which emancipation could be accomplished, but upon receiving it from Mr. Nabuco, I said to a friend who was with me: "I propose now to fix the date for the abolition of slavery in the Brazilian Empire"; and going to a neighboring office I inserted this paragraph:

"The French government, under Louis Philippe, fixed ten years as the term for the freeing of slaves and added compensation, but the revolution came, and Lamartine at once signed the paper that set free the slaves in the colonial possessions of France. Seven years might be fixed as the term in Brazil for holding the African race still in bondage. It would seem to be especially appropriate, in selecting the period for the termination of slavery in the empire, to fix upon the 28th of September, 1887, the anniversary of the great measure which provided that after its promulgation no child born in Brazil should be a slave."

Handing my letter to Mr. Nabuco, to be disposed of as he thought proper, it was immediately published in the Portuguese language in the journals of Rio, and translated into other languages for publication elsewhere. It created a great sensation in political circles. The Brazilian Parliament was in session, and in both the Sen-

ate and the Chamber of Deputies there were a number of gentlemen holding slaves, cultivating coffee, cotton, and sugar, who regarded the success of the industry as dependent upon the perpetuation of slavery.

Within a day or two after the publication of my letter, a gentleman, who had been for some time in the American consulate, Mr. Cordeiro, a native of Portugal, and a personal friend, said to me: "Mr. Hilliard, the Emperor asked a member of the council, 'Have you read Mr. Hilliard's letter?' He replied, 'I have not'; and the Emperor said, 'You must read it.'" Of course I did not know what the sentiments of the Emperor might be in regard to the measure of immediate emancipation, or how he might regard my intervention in the matter.

The custom at Rio is, that foreign ministers drive to the palace of San Cristovão on the evening of the first Saturday in each month to be received by the Emperor, and it was necessary for me to make the call within a few days after the appearance of my letter. Taking my place with the other ministers in the great reception room, I awaited the Emperor's coming to me to speak, as was his habit, in some anxiety as to what might be the result of the interview. Standing by my side was Baron Schreiner, the Austrian Minister, who spoke the English language perfectly, and who would of course comprehend every word that the Emperor said to me. The Emperor conversed for some time with Baron Schreiner. His Majesty then came to me, bowed, and said:

"I hope you have received good accounts from your country."

To which I replied:

"Yes, I am happy to inform your Majesty that I have."

After a few general remarks he drew near to me and said:

"I have read your letter with great sympathy."

I replied:

"I am a thousand times obliged to your Majesty for saying so."

"Yes," said he, "and I wish to say something on the subject myself."

I said to him: "I shall be very happy to read what your Majesty may say." He replied:

"I cannot do it here in Rio, but we shall soon go to Petropolis"—the summer residence of the Emperor and the Diplomatic Corps.

Returning from the palace to my office at the Legation, I wrote to both the President and Mr. Evarts, the Secretary of State, full accounts of the interview, and forwarded my mail by a steamer which sailed the next morning for New York.

The discussion of the subject, *pro* and *con*, continued in the journals of the country, and one point made against me was that I had taken the liberty of suggesting that so great a change in the industrial system of Brazil should be made within seven years.

At this time it was estimated that a slave paid for himself with the labor of three years, and the prospect of losing this source of wealth was not agreeable to the Brazilian planters. The discussions were warm, and popular sentiment ran high. On account of my letter I became the central figure of the agitation, and I was observed in every circle.

It is not strange that the advocates of slavery were quick to object to what they regarded as the intervention of a foreign minister in a question so important to their interests.





CHAPTER XXXVI.

Banquet Given to me by the Anti-Slavery Society—Discussion in the Chamber of Deputies—Interpellation to the Premier, Mr. Saria—Public Interest as to the Result—Reply of Mr. Saria in the Chamber of Deputies—The Scene—Public Sentiment in the Empire—Mr. Ford, English Minister—Lord Granville, of the Gladstone Cabinet—"Blue Book" of the British Parliament—Petropolis.

IN the midst of this excitement the climax came when the Anti-Slavery Society tendered me a banquet. I saw the danger, that in accepting it I would risk my official position; and the danger, on the other hand, that to decline it at this critical time would diminish the effect of my former utterance.

The political interest still grew, and the popular excitement was aroused. I felt that my position was critical, and I did not know what might happen to me personally under the excitement of the moment. I had studied the issue in advance, however, and I decided to stand upon the ground which I had taken. I saw the danger. I knew that my political life might close under some expression of disapproval by the imperial government, or by some remark from my own government in regard to what was styled my official intervention in the affairs of Brazil; but I could not be indifferent to the appeal made to me in behalf of these slaves, who are ground between the upper and the nether mill-stone—a million and a half of people without hope, and I said to myself: "If I cannot speak a word in their behalf I ought not to call myself a man."

Many of my friends thought I incurred great danger of political overthrow, and advised me strongly against accepting the banquet. I replied: "I see the surroundings, and I am prepared to meet the result." I decided to accept the banquet, that I might manifest my unswerving interest in the support of the great cause which had awakened my sympathy, and in the support of the opinions that I had advanced.

In one of the hotels of the city a splendid banquet was given me, to which about forty gentlemen of distinction were invited, and the decorations were such as to give great splendor to the occasion. A portrait of Mr. Lincoln was hung on the wall, with the portraits of other eminent men who opposed slavery. And the dishes were named for Wilberforce and other distinguished statesmen who were enlisted in the cause. Everything was done to evince the sentiment of the society in support of the measures which they were conducting. The great banquet hall was on the first floor, and in that fine climate the windows were thrown open and some of the first people of the city, including ladies, stood outside to witness the scene.

The banquet became the subject of discussion in the journals of the city, and an illustrated paper presented it in a way to attract attention.

Then came the crisis. A discussion took place in the Chamber of Deputies in regard to what was called the intervention of a foreign minister in the affairs of the empire. In some of the speeches it was said that a foreign representative infringes his official character and oversteps his privileges when he assumes to take a prominent part in the discussion of questions which are of purely domestic policy in the country to which he is accredited. M. Belfort Duarte, the Deputy from Maranhao, a sugar planter, offered a resolution proposing that the Chamber should call the attention of the Premier, Mr. Sariaiva, to

the subject, and that he should be requested to give the views of the government in regard to it. The resolution passed, and the questions submitted to the Premier, in the form of an interpellation, were as follows :

"First. Does the imperial government approve in general of the anti-slavery propaganda, and especially that which has been held in public meetings by means of political banquets, and a manifesto issued by a foreign representative ?

"Second. The United States Minister—did he appear at the anti-slavery political banquet, held on the 20th inst., in his official or semi-official character, directly or indirectly with the acquiescence of the imperial government ?

"Third. In case of disapproval on the part of the imperial government of the conduct of the foreign representative, what steps do they propose taking, and, moreover, what line do the government propose to pursue in view of the illegal meetings on the question of the abolition of slavery ?"

Mr. Sariava answered the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, promising to appear before them and give his reply to the questions submitted to him. It was an occasion of very great political interest, and even of popular excitement. The Minister of the Argentine Republic met me and said : " Mr. Hilliard, you are the man of the day." I replied : " Yes, and I should like to have other gentlemen like yourself standing by my side."

On the day appointed by Mr. Sariava for his appearance in the Chamber of Deputies, he, in company with other ministers of state, drove to the Chamber. The galleries were thronged by foreign ministers, by eminent statesmen, by ladies in their gallery, and the great gallery for the people was filled to overflow. Standing room could scarcely be found ; the very corridors were crowded. I of course did not attend, but remained at my Legation to await the result.

Mr. Sariava arose and said :

"Before replying to the first question it is necessary to rectify a point. There has been no manifesto issued by a foreign representative relative to the anti-slavery propaganda, but only the expression of the personal opinion of Mr. Hilliard on the question of slavery, addressed to a Brazilian Deputy. Having made this correction, I reply to the first question by saying that the Ministry of the 28th of March has already explained pretty clearly, in this august assembly, its entire views on the question. Resuming all I have said, I will again make the following declaration: The members of the Ministry, over whom I have the honor of presiding, are of opinion that the law of the 28th of September, 1871, can effect a complete solution of the question, because it can follow the gradual and progressive development of free labor, and the extinction of slavery in a greater or less number of years, without disturbance of, and without interruption to, the great progress of the nation. In spite, however, of what I have now said, the Ministry of the 28th of March are of opinion that it is their duty to respect, as they have respected, all the opinions which are contrary to theirs, so long as they are confined to legal grounds. To the second question I reply, No. Mr. Hilliard appeared at the banquet in his private capacity. What he said in his letter and at the banquet can only be regarded as the expression of his private opinion without any official character, and, being subjected to public appreciation, has nothing to do with either the approval or disapproval of the imperial government. The third question is answered by my replies to numbers one and two. Now that I have rendered satisfaction to the member from Maranhao, I will only consider one topic of his speech. He need be under no apprehension lest the representatives of foreign powers should meddle in our affairs. Should such a contingency arise, the government feels assured that they would meet with the support of every Brazilian, without even excepting those who entertain contrary opinions to it as to the mode of solving the question of slavery."

The scene in the Chamber is represented to have been a most impressive one. The friends of emancipation were radiant.

I knew nothing of the result of the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies until five o'clock in the afternoon, when my friend Mr. Cordeiro came to me and reported what had taken place; and he was exultant at the splendid triumph I had won, against great odds. The Diplomatic Corps stood by me to a man.

Public sentiment throughout the empire was awakened in behalf of the emancipation cause.

Mr. Ford, the English Minister, sent a full account of the proceedings to the Earl of Granville, Minister of Foreign Affairs in London, under Mr. Gladstone. He had felt some concern in regard to the result, so far as it affected me as a Minister of the United States, but now in forwarding his despatch to Lord Granville he says: "It is my impression that this diplomatic incident may now be considered as terminated, and that no more will be heard of the matter." Lord Granville attached so much importance to the affair that he ordered an account of the proceedings, as given by Mr. Ford, including the letter of Mr. Nabuco to me, my reply, my speech at the banquet, the interpellations to the Premier, Mr. Sariaiva, and his reply, to be published in the "Blue Book" of the government, where it may be found under date of December 6, 1880. A copy of the publication is given in an appendix to this volume.

In the course of a few weeks the Emperor and the Diplomatic Corps took up their summer residence at Petropolis. I had an agreeable interview with the Emperor, in which he expressed himself freely in regard to the great question of emancipation. I enjoyed an unusually agreeable intercourse with such members of the Diplomatic Corps as were residing there.

My friend Mr. Nabuco, too, was at Petropolis, and we enjoyed walks and drives from time to time. He steadily grew in my esteem, and I saw that a great future opened before the young statesman.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

Close of President Hayes' Administration—Accession of General Garfield to the Presidency—Resignation Forwarded—Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State—Interview with the Emperor and Empress—Departure from Rio—Voyage—Beautiful Views—Teneriffe—Madeira—Arrival at Bordeaux—Paris—Anniversary of the Republic—London—Dean Stanley—Westminster Abbey—Canon Farrar—Voyage to New York—Washington—Mr. Blaine.

THE administration of President Hayes was drawing towards its close. Without solicitation I had been offered the mission to Brazil, and I had accepted it.

I had found opportunities to render services to the government of the United States on more than one occasion, and my official career had been uniformly approved by the President, for whom I entertained the highest respect; and by Mr. Evarts, the Secretary of State, whose reputation as a statesman had been heightened by his able conduct of foreign affairs, while he was chief of that department.

Upon the accession of General Garfield to the presidency I forwarded my resignation, and requested leave of absence to return home. Some time elapsed before I received a reply from Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State.

The imperial family and the Diplomatic Corps had returned to Rio. My intercourse with them continued to be agreeable. Expressions of regret were made when it was understood that it was my intention to return home; and I continued to receive attentions and marks of con-

sideration which were highly appreciated by me. The season was pleasant and the health of the city was excellent.

Early in June I received a despatch from Mr. Blaine granting me leave of absence, and I made preparations for my departure.

My interview with the Emperor at the Palace of San Cristovão was most satisfactory. He gave me a morning, and our conversation had nothing of official restraint. His Majesty spoke freely of Brazil and of my own country; he named several gentlemen of the United States, statesmen and scholars, speaking of them in terms of high appreciation. At the close of the interview he gave me his hand with sincere feeling, and thanked me for the good wishes I had expressed for him.

I was conducted to the Empress, and received by her with the kindness which gave such a charm to her manners. In the course of a few minutes the Emperor came in, and as I was about to leave, his Majesty gave me a picture of himself with his autograph, and the Empress gave me hers with her autograph. I still possess and prize these pictures.

On the morning of June 15, 1881, I embarked on board the *Iberia* of the Liverpool and Pacific Steamship Line, for Europe. The day was brilliant, and as our ship steamed out from Rio I stood on the deck and took my last view of the city and its surroundings. There stood the Sugar Loaf, the Corcovado, the Gavia, lifting their heads in the clear light, their sides touched with tints of exquisite beauty. Never had I seen the city, the bay, the mountains, look so beautiful. A fresh breeze met the steamer and a swell from the ocean rolled in grandly. Just as we were going out an American steamer entered, and I greeted the flag of my country.

The voyage was delightful,—the summer sea, the great ship moving with speed, the coast views, the city of Bahia,

and after a short run Pernambuco, when losing sight of Brazil we took our course over the ocean for Europe.

Our ship was to call at Teneriffe, and as we approached it from afar we saw great peaks towering some thirteen thousand feet above the sea. When we reached the island the sun had gone down, but the picture which met our view was beautiful. The evening was clear and the heavens were starlit; south of the lofty peak a young moon hung in the sky; on the north a comet was rushing upon its fiery course; at the base the lights were kindled in the houses of the town.

The captain of the *Iberia* had instructions to call at Madeira for a number of English people who had passed the winter and spring in that delightful climate and wished now to return home. The morning was fine when we reached Madeira, and we stopped there several hours. The island was a place of much interest to me, and I saw its vine-clad slopes in their full summer verdure. We took on board a considerable number of passengers, who gave new animation to the ship, and resumed our voyage.

In the course of a few days we saw Lisbon, and passed some hours there. It presented a pleasing picture, and the scene of people in small boats, vendors of willow-ware and fruits, interested us. I could not resist the appeals of these animated merchants, and bought several articles to take home.

After a voyage along the picturesque coast of Spain we reached the point of departure for Bordeaux, and I took leave of the good ship and its courteous captain.

Here I learned that President Garfield had been assassinated. The startling announcement had just been made in Europe. I did not learn the details until I reached Paris.

Upon my arrival at Paris I took apartments at the Hôtel Meurice, and passed several days there.

The city was the scene of a grand display—the celebra-

tion of the anniversary of the first republic. The parade of troops by day and the illumination of the city at night, with varied scenes in the Champs Elysées, presented a splendid spectacle.

In the afternoon I walked through the Place de la Concorde to witness the scene. That place—the most beautiful in Europe—never fails to interest a visitor; the great statues representing the cities of France, seated in the midst of fountains, were never more impressive. I stood in front of the statue of Strasbourg, and saw that it was draped in mourning. Unconscious of observation I lifted my hat in salutation, and stood for several minutes in the presence of this dramatic representation of a city torn from France by conquest, yet still dear to her people. In the evening I met a party of American friends at dinner, and one of them, a lady, said to me that she had seen me salute the statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde; she had been walking in the Gardens of the Tuileries overlooking the spot, and recognized me.

I never fail when on a visit to Paris to see the tomb of Napoleon in the Hôtel des Invalides. My estimate of Napoleon has never changed. This modern Cæsar was the peer of Julius in the splendor of his career; like the great Roman he was a friend of the people, whose cause he espoused; he overturned thrones and expelled dynasties; and while he crowned himself Emperor, his heart was with the people of every country dominated by men who claimed to rule by divine right. Of our day, he already takes his place in history with the world's heroes of all times.

Leaving Paris I travelled to London by the way of Calais, and from midway of the channel I stood and looked a farewell to France; then over the rough waves of the channel I caught a view of the cliffs of England.

Once more in London I felt a new sympathy for the people of my own language and blood.

An eminent man had just died—Dean Stanley ; all England was in mourning, and as an American I was in full sympathy with the national sentiment. Three memorial sermons were preached in Westminster Abbey on the Sunday after his death ; I heard two of them, one by Canon Farrar ; it was a discourse of unusual power, and revealed some of the qualities of this extraordinary man. Walking through the Abbey I saw a wreath of evergreens, sent by her Majesty, Victoria, to be placed on the bier of the late Dean Stanley, a man whom she deeply revered.

I passed some days in the great metropolis. In the presence of the power and splendor and wealth of modern London, its sovereigns, its statesmen, its scholars, its imposing military display, its great merchant princes, I could not repress my interest in the past, the great forms that figured in the earlier periods of English history, the heroic men who led her armies and her fleets to victory, the noble body of Christian preachers and martyrs, the great statesmen who spoke and wrote in defence of the liberties of the people, her scholars—Shakespeare, Milton, and others—whose pages are still read with living interest. The present is imposing, but in the sky of the past the most splendid constellations glow.

Bidding adieu to London I hastened to Liverpool, and embarked on board the *Gallia*, of the Cunard Line, for New York. This great ship was crowded with Americans, returning, like myself, to our country. We had a prosperous voyage, and I enjoyed the sea.

After a brief stay in New York I proceeded to Washington. President Garfield's lingering illness was deeply felt ; there was a shadow on the city.

I called on Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, officially, and was received by him with expressions of regard which gratified me. He assured me of the appreciation by the government of my course as the Minister Plenipo-

tentiary of the United States in Brazil, and said that the influence of my services there would bind the two sections more closely. After a conversation with this eminent statesman in regard to the affairs of the country, I took leave.

My official relations with the government had terminated satisfactorily, and I turned my face towards my home in the South.





CONCLUSION.

FROUDE, in reviewing the state of affairs in Rome after the great civil war that followed the assassination of Cæsar, says: "The Roman nation had grown as the oak grows, self-developed in severe morality, each citizen a law to himself, and therefore capable of political freedom in an unexampled degree."

Of the people of the United States this may be said to-day. The stability of the republic is not dependent on any man. Our American system is capable of unlimited expansion. The Constitution is the stronghold of the government and the bulwark of personal liberty. Our federal government has survived the greatest civil war the world ever saw.

After an extended observation of political affairs at home and abroad, my confidence in our government, its living, free spirit, its ever-springing vigor, its power to protect the rights of its people at home and to repel invasion from foreign enemies, and in its destiny as the greatest republic upon which the sun ever shone, is greater than it ever was.

Our language, our religion, our laws, our civilization will be carried by our people over the whole continent.

The Union is secure; the Constitution is supreme.

Our country exhibits to-day the happiest picture of wide national tranquillity and prosperity to be seen under the whole heavens.

The strong men of the nation who some years since stood in the serried ranks of war, confronting each other and contending for the mastery, are now co-operating for the advancement of the prosperity of the whole country, and the glory of the republic.

A living, patriotic sentiment animates the people of every section. We feel that this country is our country ; that the government is our government ; that its flag is our flag, wherever it floats in all the world ; that we are **AMERICANS.**





APPENDIX.

MR. FORD TO EARL GRANVILLE (RECEIVED DECEMBER 6th):

RIO DE JANEIRO, November 8, 1880.

MY LORD :

I have the honor to transmit herewith to your Lordship translations of a correspondence which has lately taken place between Señor Nabuco, Deputy from Pernambuco, and Mr. Hilliard, the United States Minister at this court.

Señor Nabuco is a thorough-going abolitionist, and is anxious if possible, to hasten the advent of the day when slavery in Brazil will be finally put an end to.

According to the law of the 28th September, 1871, it was decreed that the children of women slaves that may be born in the empire from the above date shall be considered to be free.

Thus forty or fifty years must necessarily elapse before slavery can, by the gradual death of slaves born prior to the 28th September, 1871, and by the number of those annually emancipated, be said to be extinguished in the Empire of Brazil.

Señor Nabuco is not contented with this state of affairs, and is desirous of seeing a more immediate term fixed for the total abolition of slavery in this country.

However praiseworthy are Señor Nabuco's efforts in the anti-slavery cause, it is hardly to be expected that any legislative action he may take in the matter will prove successful, as the large coffee and sugar planters, who are strongly represented in the Brazilian Chambers, would use their best endeavors to thwart his schemes.

The publicity given in the local newspapers to Mr. Hilliard's letter, which has been translated into Portuguese, has called forth some hostile criticism, and Mr. Hilliard is accused by some of having overstepped the bounds of diplomatic decorum in thus publicly mixing himself up in a question which, it is asserted, can only be considered as one of purely local importance.

I have, etc.

(Signed)

FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

P. S.—I inclose copy of the manifesto of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society referred to in Señor Nabuco's letter.

F. C. F.

EXTRACT FROM THE *Rio News* OF NOVEMBER 5, 1880.

Emancipation.—The following is the full text of the correspondence between Deputy Joaquim Nabuco, President of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, and Honorable Henry W. Hilliard, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to this court, relative to the results of emancipation in the United States :

MR. NABUCO TO MR. HILLIARD.

(Translation.)

SOCIEDADE BRAZILEIRA CONTRA A ESCRAVIDAO,
RIO DE JANEIRO, October 19, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. HILLIARD :

I take the liberty of sending to your Excellency some copies of the English translation of the manifesto of this society, and asking your enlightened opinion upon the results which the immediate and total substitution of slave labor by free labor has produced, and still promises to produce, in the Southern States of the Union.

No one is better qualified than your Excellency to speak—possessing as you do, not only the experience of a statesman who has played an important part in the events which resulted in emancipation in those States, but also a thorough acquaintance with their social and economic conditions—no one, I repeat, is better qualified than your Excellency to speak of the

great revolution wrought in agricultural labor by the instantaneous liberation of the negro race.

The relations of the freedmen with their former masters, their aptitude for free labor, the condition of agriculture under the regimen of hired labor, the general progress of the country since that inevitable crisis, are highly interesting subjects of study for us who will, like the planters of Louisiana and Mississippi, be obliged to avail ourselves of the very same elements inherited from slavery, and of the voluntary labor of the same race condemned by it to the cultivation of the soil.

There can be no doubt, after the late harvests, regarding the wisdom of emancipation as an economic measure for the reconstruction of the Southern States. Even Mr. Jefferson Davis has just acknowledged that the heritage of slave-holders has considerably augmented in the hands of free laborers, and that from this standpoint, abolition has been a great benefit to that section of territory where it threatened to become a catastrophe and permanent ruin. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to convince the planters that their true friends are those who desire to give them a permanent, firm, and progressive base instead of this provisional one called slavery. The truth, when it appears, may come too late to prevent the ruin of the parties interested, and, as the sun, it may come only to illumine the wreck after the tempest. It is our duty, however, to enlighten the opinion of the agriculturists themselves, by the experience of free labor in other countries, and to demonstrate to the country that only with emancipation can it trust its future to agriculture.

Your Excellency had a place in Congress by the side of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay ; you belonged to the Whig party from which sprung the Republican party with its free-soil programme. Your experience covers a long period, and your word is above suspicion. It is for this reason that I ask your full judgment upon the effect which the transformation of labor has had and will have on the wealth, well-being, and the future of the social community to which your Excellency belongs. Certain as I am that your opinion will have weight with all minds who see in emancipation the only problem

worthy of arresting the attention of statesmen in countries which in this century are still under the opprobrium of possessing slaves, I thank you in anticipation for your reply as a service rendered to a million and a half of human beings whose liberty is solely dependent upon their masters becoming convinced that free labor is infinitely superior in every respect to forced and unremunerated labor.

With the assurance, my dear Mr. Hilliard, of my high esteem, I have, etc.

(Signed)

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

Hon. Henry W. Hilliard.

MR. HILLIARD TO MR. NABUCO.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, RIO DE JANEIRO,
October 25, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. NABUCO :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter calling my attention to the manifesto of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of which you have been good enough to forward to me, and requesting me to give my views of the results of the emancipation of the colored race in the Southern States of the Union.

While I am not disposed to obtrude my opinions of any of the institutions of Brazil, I do not feel at liberty to withhold the information that you desire, the request for the expression of my views coming from a source entitled to high consideration, and the question involved being so large as to transcend the boundaries of any country, appealing, as it does to the civilization of our century, and touching the widest circle of humanity. I recall the sentiment of a classical poet, expressed in one of his plays :

" I am a man,
And I cannot be indifferent to anything
That affects humanity."

When that line was uttered in a Roman theatre, filled with people accustomed to witness the fierce sports of the Coliseum,

it was received with thunders of applause. Such a sentiment can never lose its force with the advanced civilization of the world.

Slavery in the United States is to be distinguished from that which existed in other countries growing out of the patriarchal authority, or resulting from capture in war, or punishment for crime. It was part of a commercial system that did not content itself with ordinary objects of trade, but took hold of the African race as offering a tempting reward for enterprise, and promising a speedy return for the outlay of capital—at once atrocious, reckless, and selfish. For two centuries this inhuman trade was carried on, without remonstrance or even criticism. The American continent offered the best market in the world for the sale of slaves. Slavery was planted on the soil of the English colonies, stretching from New England to Georgia. When the colonies threw off their allegiance to England they were independent of each other, but they made common cause, and at the close of the war they became free and independent States. When it became necessary to form a more perfect union, the several States met in convention, General Washington presiding, and they established a national government. The Constitution conferred upon this government great powers, powers supreme and sovereign. But the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, were reserved to the States respectively or to the people. The national government had no jurisdiction over the domestic institutions of the States. Slavery was left under the absolute control of each State where it existed. It was the object of the framers of the Constitution to leave slavery in the States where it existed, without adding any sanction to it, to be disposed of by each State without reference to the others.

In the course of time a strong hostility to slavery began to exhibit itself in some of the communities of the North. Attempts were made to determine the territorial bounds to which slavery should be confined within the United States, and into this discussion the distribution of power and sectional aggrandizement largely entered. Upon the application of Missouri

—a new State in which slavery existed, organized out of a territory belonging to the United States—for admission to the Union, a fierce contest ensued which was happily compromised by the fixing of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and the territory north as free territory. The tranquillity of the Union was undisturbed for some years, but upon the acquisition of new territory at the close of the war with Mexico the formidable question of the exclusion of slavery from it was revived. A powerful free-soil party was organized—a party that disclaimed any purpose to interfere with slavery in the States, but which demanded its exclusion from all the territory lying outside the limits of any particular State. This party attracted to its ranks some of the ablest statesmen, who had, up to this crisis, ranged themselves under the banner of the Whig and Democratic parties. In 1860 the last great political battle was fought in which the old parties appeared in the field. The free-soil party triumphed. It bore its chosen leader, Mr. Lincoln, into the presidency.

Many of the leading men of the South insisted that the institutions of that section had been brought under the ban of the national government, that the Southern States could no longer look to it for protection, that the objects for which the Union was formed were disregarded, and that the time had come for seceding from it as a peaceful solution of a contest hopeless of adjustment. A large body of Southern statesmen dissented from that view. I was one of the number who believed that all the great interests of the South were far safer within the Union than they could be outside of it. I had some time before said in my place in Congress that the whole civilized world was against slavery, that it was protected only by the bulwark of the Union, and that we could already feel the spray of the billows that dashed against that barrier. But the hour had struck ; the crisis had arrived ; revolution was inevitable.

The great civil war that ensued shook the Union to its foundations ; but it stood, for it was founded upon a rock. It is too early to write the history of that great struggle, a drama in which many who bore a part are still living. The national

government triumphed, and slavery was immediately abolished throughout the United States. But it should be distinctly understood that war was not made on the part of the North to abolish slavery, nor on the part of the South to perpetuate it. It is impossible to comprehend the real significance of the question as to the results of emancipation, and the condition of the colored people in the South, without glancing at this historical review of the causes that produced a change unparalleled in the annals of the world, in the domestic and economic condition of a great section of the Union. These causes did not immediately cease to act after the convulsion had ended. Long after the storm has swept the ocean, its billows dash against the shore, and the ships that spread their sails upon its heaving bosom are driven far out of their course. Unhappily, the great quarrel originated in the relations of the Southern States to the Union, became a sectional issue, and it continued to influence the status of the colored race after emancipation had been accomplished. Political considerations continued to influence the settlement of a great social and economic question. In the language of Lord Bacon, "it was impossible to look at it in a dry light."

It was supposed, when the war was ended, that the freedmen of the South could not be entrusted to the control of their late masters. Measures were adopted for their protection. Not only were they admitted to equality under the laws, but political privileges were immediately conferred upon them. At the same time, the leading statesmen of the South were placed under disabilities. The anomalous spectacle was presented of colored freedmen suddenly elevated to office, while white men, long accustomed to rule, were excluded from posts of honor and trust. Not merely were the slaves emancipated, but they were permitted to dominate.

Numbers of adventurers from other States found their way to the South who sought for their own advantage to control the freedmen, and, utterly without principle, they encouraged distrust and hostility on the part of the colored people toward their former masters. Of course, under these influences, it was some time before the freedmen adjusted

themselves to their new conditions. Many wandered from the plantations where they had been accustomed to work, and sought employment in the cities, leading a migratory and unprofitable life.

But it must be said, in justice to the colored people, that never in the history of the world has a class, held in bondage and suddenly delivered from it, behaved so well. During the war the slaves were exemplary in their subordinate position ; no attempt at revolt was made, and in many instances they protected the families of their masters, who were in the army, to repel an invasion which it was declared would liberate them. So, too, since the war there has been less insubordination, less violation of law, less disregard of the proprieties of life on the part of the colored people of the South than was ever known in the history of any emancipated race. And this people were not a feeble, degenerate, scattered tribe, but actually number 5,000,000, contributing to-day an element of strength in the Southern States.

Never in the progress of human society have the two systems of labor—slave and free—had so fair a trial of their respective advantages as in the Southern States of the Union. I have observed the results of both systems. A native of the South, brought up and educated there, a slave-holder, representing for a number of years in Congress one of the largest and wealthiest planting districts and a section where slave labor was exclusively employed, I observed the working of that system, conducted as it was with every advantage of soil, climate, humane and intelligent oversight ; and I am acquainted with the condition of that splendid extensive agricultural region to-day.

“It was really believed throughout the South that emancipation would result in the utter ruin of the planting States ; it was insisted that slave labor was essential to the production of crops ; that the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and rice required regular, constant, reliable labor ; that if neglected at certain seasons all the results of previous toil would be lost ; that the planter must have such absolute control over the laborers as to be able to compel them to perform their

tasks ; that it was impracticable to secure the industry requisite for success with free labor—contracts would be disregarded, disputes would spring up, and at critical times work would be abandoned, bringing irreparable disaster. It was said that white men could not endure steady labor in climates where these profitable crops were made, and that the African race could alone be relied on to perform the agricultural work in the great fields of the South. The negro, if freed, would not work. He was naturally indolent, thriftless, improvident, and utterly unreliable, unless driven by the lash of a taskmaster.

Some persons, too, who seemed to be deeply concerned for the well-being of society and the interests of civilization, professed to fear that the setting free of such a class would disturb the order of communities, sensitive to any extension of privileges to the African race.

But, in the order of Providence, all these clouds that threw their portentous shadows across the heaven of the future have disappeared. Galileo was right when he said, "The world moves." Never were the States of the South so prosperous as they are to-day. Never were the relations between the white and colored races so good as they are under the new conditions of life in the South.

President Hayes, whose administration has contributed so largely to the advancement of the prosperity of the country in all its varied interests, said, in a recent speech in describing the condition of public feeling in the Southern States : "Material prosperity is increasing there ; race prejudices and antagonisms have diminished ; the passions and the animosities of the war are subsiding, and the ancient harmony, and concord, and patriotic national sentiments are returning."

The negroes labor well, patiently, and faithfully, not only in the cities but on the plantations. They are more intelligent and trustworthy than before emancipation, and whether engaged by contract, or working for shares of the crop, the results are far more satisfactory than under the old system of compulsory labor. They are cheerful and thrifty, and supply the best labor for the wide agricultural region of the

Southern States that could be secured. The largest cotton crop ever made in the South, estimated at 6,000,000 bales, has been produced this year chiefly by the labor of freedmen.

The freedmen lay up something for themselves, and constitute an important element in the increasing wealth of the South. In one single Southern State this property is estimated to be worth several millions of dollars. They have advanced in intelligence, and are regarded as valuable citizens of the commonwealths where they formerly labored as slaves. In Atlanta, the capital of the great State of Georgia, there is a prosperous university for colored students. Some of the most efficient and conservative teachers in the State were educated there. Its students number 240, representing ten different States, and forty-seven counties in Georgia. The trustees hold sixty acres of valuable land adjoining the college edifices, a splendid endowment, and besides other revenues, receive 8,000 dollars per annum from the State. The library already comprises 4,000 volumes. The spectacle presented by the Southern States to-day is one of peaceful, cheerful, prosperous labor; the slave-driver has disappeared, the sounds that break the stillness of plantation life are the voices of a willing people engaged in work, which, while it enriches the planter, adds to the well-being of the sons of toil.

It is doubtless true that the system of slave labor in the Southern States of the Union was the most humane ever conducted in any part of the world. The planters, as a class, were men of a superior order, and they gave personal attention to the plantations. There were certainly occasional abuses even under that generally mild administration. It is impossible to provide against abuses under a system of absolute slavery. Where one human being has the power to control the labor of another, to assign his tasks, to order what his food and clothing shall be, to consign him to hard work in the most insalubrious spots, to take the products of his hands, to lay the lash on his back, to sell him away from his wife and children, to whip wife and child before his eyes, to become destiny for him, shutting out from him capriciously the light of heaven and the sweet pure air, it must be expected that the better qual-

ities of human nature will at times be less powerful in dealing with the victims of such a code than the coarser and meaner lusts which have wrought so much wretchedness in the world. If Dante could have witnessed some of the scenes in these abject abodes of human misery, he might have deepened his description of the horrors in the "Inferno."

Fortunately for us in the United States, even the humane system of slavery which prevailed there has passed away for ever. The shadow upon the dial of human conscience must go back many degrees before any considerable number of men in the Southern States of the Union would consent to see slavery restored. To-day, not a slave treads the soil of freedom, from the waters of the St. Lawrence to the Mexican sea, from the shore of the Atlantic, where the rising sun greets the flag of the Republic, to the distant coast of the Pacific, where his setting beams kindle upon its folds.

It is now clearly understood that slave labor is the dearest in the world. The money invested in the purchase of slaves, the expenses incurred in maintaining them, the charges incident to keeping them in health and comfort, the duty of providing for the infirm and the aged, require a large amount of capital, from which free labor is exempt.

But there are higher considerations than these: the responsibility, the deep abiding sense of conscientious duty, the obligation to acquit one's self well of the great task of compelling labor and of grasping all its fruits, the accountability for the well-being of dependent creatures—all this, viewed in the light that reveals all human affairs, must throw an ominous shadow over the places where the slave abides, and sighs, and toils in hopeless captivity.

Since the abolition of slavery in the Southern States of the Union, a movement in favor of immigration from other States, and from abroad, has been developed in the most satisfactory way. Heretofore, while the fertile lands and fine climate of those States invited settlers, they did not come, but made their homes in the West, contributing to build up great States, and covering the country to the base of the Rocky Mountains with abounding crops, adding, above all, to the material wealth

of those commonwealths, the priceless treasure of an abiding, growing, prosperous, and happy people.

Now I observe with the greatest satisfaction that an English colony of the best class is about to be planted in East Tennessee, one of the most inviting parts of the Southern country. It is under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Hughes, M. P., an eminent scholar and statesman, who has displayed admirable judgment in selecting lands for the new colony. It is the first token of a happy future for the States so long wanting such settlers. Such a colony would not have been founded in Tennessee if slavery still existed there.

Emancipation in the Southern States was tried by every disadvantage to which it could be subjected ; it was sudden, violent, and universal. The passage of the Red Sea seemed to be full of peril, but the enfranchised hosts passed over dryshod, and the captivity was ended. It seemed to be better that this great transformation should be gradual, that both the white and colored races might prepare for the structural change in their relations to each other. I thought that this would require several years. Emancipation was not only immediate and universal, accomplished between the rising and the going down of the sun, but it was without compensation. Such a revolution in human society had never before occurred since men first began to gather into communities on the plains of the East.

Many Southern families were utterly impoverished. A new and terrible appeal was made to the noble qualities of Southern men, but they bore it well, heroically, grandly. And now that it is all over we would not recall the past. We do not speak of destiny ; we submit to Providence. The mighty change that has taken place in our fortunes awakens in us neither regrets nor reproaches. We have turned our backs on the past ; we look with courage to the future. The effect upon the white race at the South is infinitely better. Our young men respond to the appeal to their manhood ; they address themselves to the tasks of life with energy and purpose. They have caught the spirit of our great poet Longfellow's line—

“ Life is real, life is earnest.”

So, too, this deliverance from bondage is better for the colored race ; they enjoy at once, without a lingering captivity, the priceless treasure of freedom.

I have read the manifesto of the Anti-Slavery Society with profound interest. The cause is set forth with great ability, and the appeal in behalf of the enslaved race is most impressive.

It seems that slavery in Brazil is already under the ban of the imperial government. The law of the 28th September, 1871, adopted under the lead of your great and honored statesman, Visconde do Rio Branco, providing that after its promulgation no child should be born a slave in Brazil, announced that this great empire had ranged itself with all the civilized world in condemnation of human servitude. The only question now is whether the million and a half of slaves in the country shall be still held in bondage, or be brought within the sweep of the beneficent spirit which prompted the grand act of the imperial government in behalf of human freedom.

Brazil is a great country, vast in extent, with a mild climate and fertile soil, yielding freely coffee, sugar, tobacco, and cotton, besides other agricultural products, rich with tropical fruits, abounding in valuable metals and precious stones, with the sea-coast 4,000 miles in extent. Such a country invites agricultural colonization. It need not distrust its future. It need not hesitate to commit itself to the policy adopted in the United States. With the extinction of slavery free labor will develop its immeasurable resources. The freedmen, already accustomed to its climate and its methods of industry, will supply the immediate demands for labor on the plantation. Gradually relieved from bondage, they will perform their tasks cheerfully, and ceasing to be a dependent class, not assimilating with the other inhabitants, but lingering in hopeless captivity, they will at once contribute to the wealth and strength of the country. Guided, trained, enlightened by the civilization that surrounds them, they will take part cheerfully in the industrial pursuits of the country—a country destined to be one of the greatest and happiest on the globe.

As to the time to be fixed for the full enfranchisement of the enslaved race, it is well to consult the experience of other

countries in dealing with this important question. The ministry in England took up the subject as early as 1832 ; they proposed to inquire :

First. Whether the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labor ?

Second. Whether the dangers of convulsions would be greater from freedom withheld than from freedom granted ?

But before the report was made Parliament adopted an emancipation plan, and fixed upon a measure of apprenticeship of the slaves of four and six years, and voted moderate compensation.

The French government under Louis Philippe fixed ten years as the term, and added compensation ; but the revolution came, and Lamartine at once signed a paper that set free the slaves in the colonial possessions of France.

Seven years might be fixed as the term in Brazil for holding the African race still in bondage. It would seem to be especially appropriate, in selecting the period for the termination of slavery in the empire, to fix upon the 28th of September, 1887, the anniversary of the great measure which provided that after its promulgation no child born in Brazil should be a slave.

But the imperial government will treat this question under the lights that surround it and in reference to considerations which affect its own welfare. It is well constituted to guide the fortunes of this great country. Its history inspires confidence throughout the world,—its stability in the midst of convulsions that shook other states, its ruler displaying the great qualities of a man and a statesman, its Senate composed of wise, able, and experienced statesmen, profoundly versed in political science, its Chamber of Deputies constituted of enlightened gentlemen representing all parts of the empire with dignity and ability.

When the great measure of enfranchisement shall be matured and promulgated it will be hailed with the benedictions of mankind. May the day soon dawn. It will not only illumine the empire but will cheer with its light the remotest parts of the civilized world.

In the letter which you have done me the honor to address to me, you refer to Mr. Webster and to Mr. Clay as leaders of the Whig party in the United States, and to my association with them in Congress. I knew them well, and, though a much younger man, I enjoyed an intimate friendship with Mr. Webster.

Mr. Clay was a splendid impersonation of an American statesman—bold, frank, and ardent. He was distinguished for his oratory, powerful in the Senate, resistless on the hustings. He was a Southern man, a native of Virginia, and a citizen of Kentucky, to which State he removed in his youth, and was its representative in Congress for many years. He favored emancipation in his own State, but did not identify himself with the abolitionists of his day, feeling bound to respect the provisions of the Constitution which gave Congress no jurisdiction, leaving it to be disposed of in the States where it existed.

Mr. Webster was a native of New Hampshire, but in his early manhood fixed his residence in Massachusetts. He did not commit himself to the measures of the anti-slavery party, being restrained by his respect for the Constitution of the United States. He won for himself the proud distinction of being called "Defender of the Constitution." No man surpassed Mr. Webster in the qualities that constitute a statesman; his imperial intellect, his large attainments, the tone of his character, the Olympian power and splendor of his eloquence, his personal appearance, the dignity of his manner,—all gave him an unrivalled grandeur in the midst of his peers. He filled so great a place in the country that his death was like the fall of a castle from whose battlements banners had waved and from whose embrasures artillery had thundered.

Both these great statesmen died before the crisis came that tried the strength of American institutions. If they had lived they might have averted civil war.

They were both leaders of the Whig party—a great, powerful, patriotic party embracing the whole country, and disdaining to bend to sectional influences. So long as it existed it was the great conservative power in the nation, protecting all its interests and shedding a splendor over the whole country. I shared its fortunes throughout the whole term of its exist-

ence. It gave way before the fierce sectional struggle that produced the war, but its surviving members still cling to its traditions and glory in its memories.

I need not assure you that you have my best wishes for your success as a statesman. You may not at once secure the accomplishment of your wishes, but you may live to witness the complete triumph of the measures which you believe will promote the prosperity and glory of your country. Few men are so fortunate as to live long enough to reap the fruition of their labors—labors faithfully performed for the advancement of their race. Every great political career has its vicissitudes, its lights and shade ; the very energy that impels one to scale mountain heights may occasion a fall, but a true man will rise again to take part in the noble struggle of the forum.

Among the really great and fortunate men of our time Mr. Gladstone seems to enjoy the felicitous attainment of statesmanship described in Gray's fine lines :

“ The applause of listening Senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read his history in a nation's eyes.”

May it be your good fortune to serve your country well, and to be appreciated for your honorable labors. The noble cause to which you have consecrated your abilities, the courage with which you have advanced upon your course, and the manliness with which you express your convictions, entitle you to the highest respect and consideration. The true object of honorable ambition is not success, but, as Lord Mansfield expresses it, “the pursuit of noble ends by noble means.” We must put forth our best efforts for the accomplishment of honorable and great tasks, but, after all, we must leave the result to the supreme ordering of Divine Providence.

I tender you assurances of my high regard, and I beg you to believe me,

My dear Mr. Nabuco, Your's etc.,

(Signed) HENRY WASHINGTON HILLIARD.

Hon. Joaquim Nabuco.

MR. FORD TO EARL GRANVILLE (RECEIVED DECEMBER 31ST).

RIO DE JANEIRO, December 1, 1880.

MY LORD :

With reference to my despatch transmitting a copy of a letter which had been addressed by Mr. Hilliard, the United States Minister at this Court, to Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, Deputy from Pernambuco, on the subject of a speedier solution of the slavery question than the one contemplated by the existing law of the 28th of September, 1871, I have the honor to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a speech delivered by the United States Minister at a banquet which was given to him by a number of Brazilian abolitionists on the 20th of last month.

The conduct of the United States Minister, as I have mentioned to your Lordship in my former despatch, has been subjected to considerable criticism, and has formed of late the subject of debates in the House of Representatives, where speeches have been made maintaining that a foreign Representative infringes his official character and oversteps his privileges when he assumes to take a prominent part in the discussion of questions which are of purely domestic policy of the country to which he is accredited.

One member in particular, M. Belfort Duarte, the Deputy from Maranhao, addressed in the House a categorical list of questions on the subject to M. Sariava, the Brazilian Prime Minister and President of the Council.

M. Sariava replied to him in as categorical a manner, as your Lordship will perceive from the enclosed copy and translation of the minister's speech.

It is my impression that this diplomatic incident may now be considered as terminated, and that no more will be heard of the matter.

I have, etc.,

(Signed)

FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

NEWSPAPER EXTRACT.

BANQUET TO MR. HILLIARD.—A banquet was given on the evening of the 20th instant to Honorable Henry W. Hilliard, American Minister to Brazil, by the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, as a token of appreciation for the service rendered to the cause of human freedom in his late *résumé* of the results of emancipation in the United States. There was a large number of prominent abolitionists present, among whom were Deputies Nabuco, Saldana Marinho, Serra, Moura, and Sodre, Dr. Adolpho Debarros, Dr. Nicolao Moreira, Dr. Ferreira de Menezes, of the *Gazeta da Tarde*, and many others whose names our space will not permit us to give. The banquet was a very brilliant affair throughout, and among the large number of anti-slavery speeches made were many which were eloquent in behalf of the cause of abolition, and which should find a permanent place in the records of this movement. Our time and space will not permit us to give even an abstract of these speeches; we are able to reproduce no more than Mr. Hilliard's reply to an eloquent introduction and defence of his recent letter on American emancipation, by the President of the Society, Deputy Joaquim Nabuco.

MR. HILLIARD'S SPEECH.**GENTLEMEN :**

In rising to make my acknowledgments for the very kind words which we have just heard from my honorable and eloquent friend, M. Nabuco, I must at the same time beg you to accept my warmest thanks in providing this splendid banquet as a mark of your appreciation of the sentiments expressed in my late letter in regard to emancipation in the United States.

It is not my purpose on this occasion to do more than to speak in general terms of the immeasurable advantages of free labor over a system of compulsory and unremunerative labor. It is a great social and economic question about which my own judgment is made up and settled. The experience of all nations teaches us that no country can enjoy the highest prosperity

and happiness attainable where slavery exists. But I shall not enter into an argument in support of that proposition on an occasion like this.

Allow me to say I cannot feel that I am a stranger in Brazil. Long before I stood upon its soil and looked out upon its beautiful scenery (far the most beautiful I have anywhere seen) I felt a deep interest in the country. Coming from my own country to this, it seemed to me that the United States and Brazil were bound to each other by strong ties ; that we were merely neighboring nations dividing between us so large a part of the American continent, and having great interests in common which we should develop for ourselves on this side of the Atlantic, without being disturbed by the struggles of the states of Europe. Your country, like mine, had thrown off its allegiance to a foreign power, and asserted and maintained its right to be free and independent.

More than this, in both countries a great system of constitutional government had been established. We have a day which, with every recurring anniversary, calls forth new attestations of popular rejoicing—the 4th of July ; and you have yours—the 7th of September.

So, too, not a great while after our independence was accomplished, we framed a Constitution and established a national government, under which we have advanced to the highest prosperity. You, at an early day, adopted your constitution, under which you have made steady progress as a nation. One of the noblest monuments in the world adorns a beautiful square in your city in commemoration of the date of your constitution. In both countries there are great free governments, and both are advancing side by side to a prosperous, happy, and glorious future.

In my country we feel the highest respect and warmest regard for the Emperor of Brazil. When he came to us as a visitor he was everywhere welcomed ; he travelled extensively ; he saw our great cities, our broad plains, our growing States spreading from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And we observed him ; we were impressed with his unostentatious greatness, the real majesty of the man, and the true dignity of the sovereign.

When he took leave of our shores he left behind him countless numbers of friends, and we should be happy to welcome him once more.

In the views which I expressed in my letter as to the results of the enfranchisement of the colored race in the United States, I limited myself to a statement of the happy transformation in the condition of the people in the great agricultural region where slavery formerly existed, tested by an experience of fifteen years. As a man and an American I rejoice that slavery no longer exists in the United States. I confess that I should be glad to see it pass away from the whole world.

There are, gentlemen, certain great underlying principles which it seems to me impossible to disregard. You might as well try to disregard the laws of nature. And in applying these great principles we are apt to be misled if we yield too much to expediency.

Really there are some questions affecting human society to which you cannot apply considerations of expediency. The grand power of right asserts itself like one of the forces of nature. It disdains to yield to policy, and sweeps aside the obstacles that would impede the advance of civilization.

The mariner who would guide his vessel across the ocean does not lean over its side to observe the drift of the currents ; they would bear him far out of his course. Nor can he always see the stars in the heavens ; clouds may overcast the sky. But in the midst of darkness and tempest and the war of the waves, he fixes his eye on the compass that tells him his true course ; the needle that trembles on its pivot, true to the power that attracts it, enables him to find his way in the pathless sea and reach the haven of safety. So in great questions affecting the destiny of the human race : to refuse to act because some inconvenience might result to us from our course, to look at the currents that drive us out of the true course, to refuse to look at the clear, unswerving line of principle, is to commit a stupendous blunder in advance. The great moral laws of the universe always avenge themselves in such cases.

I would not be understood to say that the conditions which affect the status of slavery in any country are to be overlooked

or disregarded. Far from it. They are to be carefully considered. To accomplish in the best way and at the proper time any great work, we must study the proper methods to effect our purpose. But to refuse to listen to the teachings of history, to decline to survey the situation, to sit down with the selfish purpose to take no step for the advancement of the happiness of our race lest we should suffer by the change in the social condition of those about us, is what neither the philanthropist nor the statesman can approve.

Such a course makes one amenable to a moral law too powerful to be resisted. It is the beautiful expression of Hooker, that "law has her seat in the bosom of God, and her voice is the harmony of the universe." That law is irresistible in its force; there can be no harmony in the universe until right prevails everywhere.

Look to history. The nations in their march have shed a broad light upon the track of human progress. The mighty monarchies of the East have perished. The proud structures all over the world, that dominated over human right, have gone down. Modern nations have sprung up; the principles of liberty have asserted their force; absolute power cannot lift its sceptre in the light of the closing splendor of the nineteenth century. Public opinion to-day governs the world; it is impossible to resist it; it is making its power felt in all nations; it is more powerful than any government on the globe: its authority surpasses the fabled strength of Olympian Jove. It follows the sun in its course, and visits with its transforming power all places under the whole heavens. It will accomplish the enfranchisement of the human race.

I beg that it may be understood I do not permit myself to speak of the institutions of Brazil. In asserting my firm belief in great principles, I limit myself to a general statement. The application must be made by those who have the right to control the destinies of this great country—a country full of promise, with vast resources, and which will yet attain the highest degree of national prosperity and happiness. The time for the enfranchisement of the million and a half of slaves in this country requires much and careful consideration. The

question is in the hands of wise statesmen, who will know how to treat it in all its important relations.

As I have said already, your government is admirably organized to dispose of all questions that affect the well-being of the country. The Emperor is known to be a great statesman, a profound student, who has enjoyed the advantage of personal observation of a large part of the world ; your senators are able and experienced statesmen ; your Chamber of Deputies is composed of gentlemen representing all parts of the country with dignity and ability, thoroughly acquainted with its condition and its wants, and competent to dispose of all the questions that affect its interests. You have a free and enlightened press. It is impossible to doubt that the important social and economic question, to which I have referred, will be disposed of in a way to advance the prosperity and happiness of the country. Such a cause as you advocate, gentlemen, must always encounter opposition. I dare say your great, honored, and lamented statesman Visconde do Rio Branco, who has just gone down to a grave bedewed with the tears of a nation, found it no easy task to accomplish a statesman-like plan, providing by law that after its promulgation no child should be born a slave in Brazil. He encountered opposition, but he triumphed.

There is always a distrust of the successful working of any plan which proposes to effect important changes in the economic and social affairs of any country. The distrust is natural ; it is to be respected ; it is to be dealt with in the best spirit. But it yields to the irresistible force of enlightened public sentiment.

I am profoundly grateful, gentlemen, for this mark of your appreciation of the sentiments expressed in my recent letter ; the opinions given with frankness, upon a great question affecting the destiny of our race and the interests of civilization, will stand the test of time ; and I feel myself honored in being able to contribute anything towards the advancement of a cause which proposes to accomplish so much good for this great and interesting country. Of course I could not intervene in the affairs of Brazil if I desired to do so ; I entertain no such purpose. I state the results of my observation of the substitution of free for slave labor in my own country, and I trust to a gen-

erous construction of the spirit in which I have treated a great question which enlists the sympathy of the whole civilized world. I shall in the future recur to this occasion with an interest which time cannot chill, and cherish a pleasing recollection of one of the brightest evenings of my life.

Allow me, gentlemen, to propose a sentiment : The spirit of liberty—it cannot be subdued ; like the central fires of the earth, sooner or later, it will upheave everything that oppresses it and flame up to heaven.

EXTRACT FROM THE *Diario Official* OF NOVEMBER 27, 1880.

[Translation.]

SPEECH DELIVERED BY M. SARIAVA ON THE 25TH NOVEMBER, 1880.

The questions refer to home and foreign affairs. I will reply to all those which concern the Chamber of Deputies.

First Question.

Does the imperial government approve in general of the anti-slavery propaganda, and especially that which has been held in public meetings by means of political banquets and a manifesto issued by a foreign representative ?

Answer.

Before replying to that question it is necessary to rectify a point. There has been no manifesto issued by a foreign representative relative to the anti-slavery propaganda, but only the expression of the personal opinion of Mr. Hilliard on the question of slavery addressed to a Brazilian deputy. Having made this correction, I reply to the first question by saying that the ministry of the 28th March has already explained pretty clearly, in this august assembly, its entire views on the question. Resuming all I have said, I will again make the following declaration : The members of the ministry, over whom I have the honor of presiding, are of opinion that the

law of the 28th September, 1871, can effect a complete solution of the question, because it can follow the gradual and progressive development of free labor, and the extinction of slavery in a greater or less number of years, without disturbance of, and without interruption to, the great progress of the nation. In spite, however, of what I have now said, the ministry of the 28th March are of opinion that it is their duty to respect, as they have respected, all the opinions which are contrary to theirs so long as they are confined to legal grounds.

Second Question.

The United States Minister—did he appear at the anti-slavery political banquet held on the 20th instant, in his official or semi-official character, directly or indirectly with the acquiescence of the imperial government?

Answer.

I reply, No. Mr. Hilliard appeared at the banquet in his private capacity. What he said in his letter and at the banquet can only be regarded as the expression of his private opinion without any official character, and, being subjected to public appreciation, has nothing to do with either the approval or disapproval of the imperial government.

Third Question.

In case of disapproval on the part of the imperial government of the conduct of the foreign representative, what steps do they propose taking? and, moreover, what line do the government propose to pursue in face of the illegal meetings on the question of the abolition of slavery?

Answer.

This question is answered by my reply to questions Nos. one and two.

Now that I have rendered satisfaction to the member from Maranhao, I will only consider one topic of his speech. He need be under no apprehension lest the representatives of for-

eign powers should meddle in our affairs. Should such a contingency arise, the government feels assured that they would meet with the support of every Brazilian without even excepting those who entertain contrary opinions to it as to the mode of solving the question of slavery.





INDEX.

A

Adams, Charles Francis, 196, 197
 Adams, John Quincy, 127, 183; circumstance attending the death of, 183-5; tributes in Congress to, 186-90
 Aix-la-Chapelle, 43
 Alabama, State Convention at Montgomery, 310; secession of, 311
 Albert Edward (Prince Consort), 81
 American Institute, Mr. Hilliard's speech at Castle Garden, New York, in behalf of, 235-9
 American Party, the, organization of, 268; National Convention at Philadelphia, 269
American Review, biographical notice of Mr. Hilliard in, 210, 211
 Ampudia, Gen., 162
 Amsterdam, 97
 Anderson, Major Robert, 308, 314, 320
 Anti-slavery agitation in the North, 285
 Anti-slavery movement in Brazil, 393-402; Report concerning, as published in the British Parliamentary Blue-Book, 411-35
 Anti-Slavery party, Convention in Buffalo, 196; platform of, 196
 Antwerp, 40
 Appleton, Nathan, 200
 Appleton, Thomas G., 201

Appomattox, surrender of Gen. Lee's army at, 340, 341
 Arkansas, secession of, 333
 Ashburton, Lord, 28
 Assassination of President Lincoln, 343, 344
 Attempted assassination of Mr. Seward, 349, 350

B

Badger, George E., 213
 Baltimore, Democratic Convention at, in 1848, 193; in 1852, 259; Whig National Convention at, 259, 269; adjourned Democratic National Convention at, in 1860, 288; adjourned meeting of Southern delegates at, in 1860, 289; National Convention of the Constitutional Union Party at, 289
 Bank of the United States, the, 13
 Banquet given to Mr. Hilliard, Anti-Slavery Society in Rio, 398, 399
 Barbour, James, 5
 Barnwell, Mr., 316
 Barrow, Senator, 178, 180
 Bartow, Col. Francis S., 336
 Bayley, Gen., 178
 Beaconsfield, the Earl of, 388, 389
 Beauregard, General G. T., 318-22, 334
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 345

- Bee, General Bernard, 336
 Belgium, Mr. Hilliard appointed Minister to, 26; government of, 53
 Bell, John, 289
 Belser, James E., 121
 Benjamin, Judah P., 316
 Benton, Thomas H., 176, 177, 213
 Berrien, John McP., 200, 213
 Bissel, Col., 168
 Black, Jeremiah, 276
 Blaine, James G., 407, 408
 Bliss, Col., 169
 Booth, John Wilkes, 343
 Botanical Garden Railroad of Rio de Janeiro, 375
 Boundary between Texas and New Mexico, passage of a measure defining same, 232
 Bowden, 200
 Bragg, Capt. (afterwards Brig.-Gen.) Braxton, 167 *seq.*
 Brazil, Mr. Hilliard appointed Minister to, 358; the imperial family of, 367-9; trade-mark treaty with, 373-5; slavery in, 393-402
 Breckenridge, John C., 269, 270, 289
 Breda, 93
 Briey, Count de, interview with, 82; views concerning annexation of Texas, 83
 Broek, 98
 Brougham, Lord, 37
 Brown, A. V., 276
 Brussels, 41; visit of Queen Victoria to, 80
 Buchanan, James, 269, 270, 275-7, 313; Cabinet of, 275, 276
 Buena Vista, battle of, 166 *seq.*; Jackson's report, 172 *seq.*; number of troops engaged in, 173
 Buffalo, Convention of Anti-Slavery Party in, 196
 Bulwer, Lady, 246
 Bulwer-Lytton, Sir Edward Robert, 246
 Bulwer, Sir Henry Lytton, 174, 246
 Bunker Hill, meeting at, 20
 Butler, Gen. William O., 194, 197
- C
- Calhoun, John C., 3, 17, 18, 111, 176, 198-200, 212, 220-6, 255
 California, President Taylor recommends its admission as a State, 215
 Cass, Gen. Lewis, 194, 197, 213, 275, 314
 Castle Garden, Mr. Hilliard's speech at, in behalf of the American Institute, 235-9
 Cathedral of St. Gudule, 78
 Chapman, Gov., 271
 Charleston, Democratic National Convention at, 385-8; adjourns to meet in Baltimore, 287
 Charleston harbor, President Buchanan refuses to withdraw garrison from, 314
 Charlotte, Princess, 47.
 Chase, Salmon P., 213, 218, 352
 Chicago, Republican National Convention at, 290
 Choate, Rufus, 152
 Cincinnati, Democratic National Convention at, 269.
 Clay, Henry 3, 12, 110, 116, 120, 195, 213, 216, 261; Mr. Hilliard's eulogy of, at Montgomery, 261, 262
 Clay, Lieut.-Col. Henry, 172
 Clayton, John M., 206
 Clemens, Senator, 272
 Cobb, Howell, 129, 214, 276 314, 315
 Cochran, John, 122-5, 250
 Collamer, Jacob, 130
 Cologne, 85
 Commercial convention at Montgomery, 255-8
 Confederate government, organization of, 315

Confederate States, 342
 Congress, sovereign power of, over the territories of the United States, 270
 Constitutional Union Party, the, organization of, 289; National Convention of, at Baltimore, 289
 Constitution, the, Mr. Hilliard's argument from, in support of slavery in the territories, 299
 Convention, see under Baltimore, Buffalo, Charleston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Georgia, Harrisburg, Montgomery, and Philadelphia.
 Cooper Union, New York, mass-meeting at, 292-4; Mr. Hilliard's speech at, 294-302
 Corcoran, W. W., 247
 Currency and government, 13
 Cushing, Caleb, 285

D

Dallas, George M., 120, 126, 182
 Dangerfield, Mr., Minister of the Republic of Texas, 91; seeks recognition from Belgium, 92
 Davis, Garrett, 178
 Davis, J. C. Bancroft, 357
 Davis, Jefferson, 132, 148, 167, 171, 174, 182, 315-9, 325-31, 340; Cabinet of, 316; first message of, 331, 332
 Davis, Penelope, 2
 Dayton, William L., 270
 Democratic National Convention in Baltimore, in 1848, 193; in 1852, 259; at Cincinnati, 269; at Charleston in 1860, 285-8; secession of Southern delegates from, 287; adjourned meeting of, at Baltimore, 288; adjourned meeting of Southern delegates to, 289
 Donelson, Andrew J., 269
 Douglas, Stephen A., 129, 182, 266, 288

Dromgoole, George C., 128
 Durand, Mme. Marie, 376, 377

E

Emancipation of slaves in Brazil, movement in behalf of, 393-402; Mr. Hilliard's efforts in behalf of, Report concerning as published in the British Parliamentary Blue-Book, 411-35; 394 *seq.*; extract from newspaper account of the banquet to Mr. Hilliard, 428; Mr. Hilliard's speech in behalf of, 428-33
 Emancipation proclamation, the, 336-40; Mr. Hilliard's views upon, 352-5
 Evarts, William M., 357, 374
 Everett, Edward, 33, 289, 302-4
 Ewing, Thomas, 207
 Extradition of fugitive slaves, the, dissatisfaction in the North at the adoption of the law concerning, 246; Whig Convention at Baltimore in 1852 affirms acts concerning, 260

F

Farrar, Cannon Frederick W., 407
 Fillmore, Millard, 195, 197, 206, 212, 229, 230, 269, 270, 273, 275
 Fitzpatrick, Benjamin, 200, 288
 Florida, secession of, 308
 Floyd, John B., 276, 314
 "Force-Bill," the, 18
 Ford, Francis H., 380; letter of, to Earl Granville, transmitting correspondence concerning the abolition of slavery in Brazil, 411-7; letter of, to Earl Granville, transmitting a copy of Mr. Hilliard's speech at the banquet given to him by the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, 427
 Fort Pickens, 312
 Fort Sumter, 308, 312, 320; fleet sent to relief of, 318; surrender of, 321

Free-Soil Party, 191, 192, 267
 Fremont, Gen. John C., 270, 275
 Fugitive slaves, dissatisfaction in the North concerning the law for the extradition of, 244; acts relating to affirmed by the Whig Convention at Baltimore in 1852, 260; rescue of, in Boston, 245

G

Gambetta, Leon M., 391
 Garfield, Gen. James A., 403, 405
 Georgia, State Convention at Milledgeville, 311; secession of, 312
 Gillett, Francis, 370
 Government and currency, 13
 Graham, William, 260
 Grant, Gen. U. S., 341, 389-90
 Greeley, Horace, 1, 337
 Greenough, C. B., 375, 376
 Guadalupe Hidalgo, peace negotiated at, 176
 Guizot, François P. G., 70, 103

H

Haarlem, 96
 Hague, The, 94
 Hamlin, Hannibal, 290
 Hardin, Col. John J., 170, 172, 174
 Harrisburg, Pa., National Whig Convention at, 1-11
 Harris, Hon. Mr., of Alabama, 200
 Harris, Isham G., 326
 Harrison, Gen. William Henry, 1, 7 *seq.*, 15, 23, 24; Cabinet of, 23
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 356
 Heidelberg, 88
 Henry, Joseph, 151
 Hill, Benjamin H., 274, 311
 Hillard, George S., 303
 Hilliard, Camillus B., 334
 Hilliard, Henry W., appointed delegate to Whig National Convention at Harrisburg, 1; votes for Mr.

Clay, 7; votes for Mr. Tyler, 8; pledges support of Alabama for Gen. Harrison and Mr. Tyler, 11; declines the mission to Portugal, 25; appointed Minister to Belgium, 26; audience with King Leopold, 73; successfully opposes the increased duty on tobacco proposed by Belgium, 109; resigns mission to Belgium and returns to America, 114; enthusiastic reception at Montgomery, Ala., 118; nominated for Congress, 121; public debate with Mr. Cochran, 121-4; defeats Mr. Cochran, 125; speech on the Oregon question, 136-143; re-elected to Congress, 181; tribute to Mr. Adams, 187-90; speech in support of Gen. Taylor, 192-3; appointed delegate to Whig Convention at Philadelphia, 195; renominated for Congress 207; defeats Mr. Pugh, 209; biographical notice in the *American Review*, 210; speech at Castle Garden, New York, in behalf of the American Institute, 235-9; views on slavery, 247, 248; declines a renomination for Congress, 249; debates with Mr. Yancey at Union Springs, Chattahoochee, Montgomery, and elsewhere, 251-8; eulogy of Mr. Clay, 251, 252; eulogy of Mr. Webster, 263-6; debate with Gen. Walker, 273; commencement address at the University of Virginia, 278-81; speech at Cooper Union, New York, 304, 305; speech at Montgomery against hasty action in regard to secession 309, 310; mission to Tennessee in behalf of the Confederacy, 325-9; address to the Tennessee legislature, 327, 328; letter of Mr. Seward to, in regard to reconstruction, 348; letter of Chief-Justice Chase to, 353-5; appointed Minister

- to Brazil, 358 ; address to the Emperor of Brazil, 365-7 ; negotiates trade-mark treaty with Brazil, 373-5 ; efforts in behalf of the abolition of slavery in Brazil, 394-402 ; banquet given to, by the Anti-Slavery Society in Rio, 398, 399 ; extract from a newspaper account of banquet to, 428 ; full text of speech at banquet, 428-33
- Hilliard, Henry W., Jr., 227, 228
 Hilliard, William Preston, 242
 Holland, Breda, 93 ; Rotterdam, 94 ; The Hague, 94 ; Scheveningen, 95 ; Leyden, 96 ; Haarlem, 96 ; Amsterdam, 97 ; Broek, 98 ; Utrecht, 99
 Holt, Joseph, 314
 Hopkins, Arthur F., 119
 Hôtel des Invalides, 105
 Hôtel de Ville, 55
 Houston, Gen. Sam., 312
 Hughes, Christopher, Minister to Holland, 95
 Humboldt, Baron von, 45
 Hunter, Robert M. T., 129, 182
- I
- Inauguration of President Taylor, 206
 Ingersoll, Charles J., 128, 153, 154, 160, 161
 Ingersoll, Joseph R., 130, 153
- J
- Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 16 *seq.*
 Jackson, Gen. "Stonewall," 336
 Johnson, Andrew, 130, 346-52
 Johnson, Herschel V., 288, 350
 Johnston, Gen. Albert S., 333
 Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 334, 341, 347
- K
- Kansas and Nebraska, territories of, passage of bill permitting slavery in, 267
- Kansas-Nebraska Act, the, 192
 King, Horatio, 307
 King, Thomas B., 128
 King, William R., 213, 259
 Koskul, Count, 369
- L
- Lane, Gen. Joseph, 171, 289
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., 333, 340, 341
 Legaré, Hugh S., 42, 203
 Leigh, Benjamin Watkins, 8
 Leopold, King of Belgium, 47, 91
 Leyden, 96
 Lieutenant-General, President Polk recommends appointment of, 176 ; recommendation defeated in Senate, 176
 Lincoln, Abraham, 182, 290, 305, 316, 323, 324, 343-7 ; effect of election of, 306 ; inauguration of, 316
 Lind, Mlle. Jenny, 239-44 ; Miss Frederika Bremer's tribute to, 240
 "Log-Cabin" campaign, the, 14-22
 Longfellow, Henry W., 201
 Louise, Queen of Belgium, 48
 Louis Philippe, King of France, 68-70
 Luther's speech at the Diet of Worms, 87
 Lyndhurst, Lord, 35
- M
- McDowell, General Irvin, 334
 McKee, Col., 168, 170
 Madison, Mrs. James, 29
 Mallory, Stephen R., 316
 Manassas, battle of, 334, 335
 Marshall, Brig.-Gen. Humphrey, 168, 173
 Mason, James M., 220
 Maxcy, Virgil, 41
 Melodeon, the, (Mr. Theodore Parker's church) service at, 203, 204

Memminger, Charles G., 316
 Meredith, William M., 206
 Mexico, rupture of relations with, 145; war with, 146 *seq.*, treaty with, 191; cedes Upper California and New Mexico to the United States, 191
 Militia, the, proclamation calling out, 323
 Mississippi Rifles praised for gallantry at Buena Vista, 174
 Mississippi, secession of, 308
 Missouri Compromise Act, 192, 198, 266, 267
 Missouri compromise line, Pres. Polk recommends its extension to the Pacific Ocean, 198
 Monterey, battle of, 162
 Montgomery, Alabama, meeting at, 208; commercial convention at, 255-8; State convention at, 310
 Moore, Andrew B., 310
 Moorehead, Ex-Gov., 294
 Munroe, Major, 174

N

Nabuco, Joaquim, 381, 394, 395, 402; text of Mr. Hilliard's correspondence with, relative to the results of emancipation in the United States, 412-26
 Napoleon I., 406
 Nebraska and Kansas, territories of, passage of bill permitting slavery in, 267
 New Mexico, ceded by Mexico to the United States, 191; and Texas, boundary between, 232
 New York, mass-meeting at Cooper Union, 292-4; Mr. Hilliard's speech at, 294-302
 Norris, William, 93
 North Carolina, secession of, 333
 Notre Dame, 106

O

O'Brien, Capt., 172
 Oregon, dispute with Great Britain concerning, 133; debate upon, 134
 Otis, Harrison Gray, 187

P

Pacific Ocean, Pres. Polk recommends the extension of the Missouri compromise line to, 198
 Palo Alto, battle of, 147
 Paris, 66 *seq.*, 101, 359
 Parker, Theodore, 203, 204
 Partridge, Hon. Mr. (U. S. Minister to Brazil), 360
 Payne attempts to assassinate Mr. Seward, 349, 350
 Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil, 367, 368
 Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, 367, 368, 393, 404
 Perkins, Mrs., 351
 Pernambuco, 361
 Perry, Comm. Matthew C., 29
 "Personal liberty" laws, 277
 Petropolis, 379, 380
 Philadelphia, Whig Convention in, 194; National Convention of the American Party at, 269; Republican National Convention at, 270
 Pickens, Francis W., 307, 308, 322
 Pierce, Gen. Franklin, 259, 266, 307
 Pillow, Gen. Gideon, 183
 Polk, James K., 117, 132, 159, 182, 198; Cabinet of, 126
 Polk, Mrs. James K., 328
 Prescott, William H., 190, 201, 202
 Preston, William C., 2, 4, 12, 20, 277, 282-4
 Pryor, Gen. Roger A., 255
 Pugh, Senator, of Ohio, 285-7

R

Randall, Josiah, 195, 285
 Reagan, John H., 316

- Reconstruction measures, 347 ; letter of Mr. Seward to Mr. Hilliard concerning, 348
- Republican Party, the, organization of, 267 ; National Convention of, at Philadelphia, 270 ; National Convention of, at Chicago, 290
- Resaca de la Palma, 148
- Resignation of President Taylor's Cabinet, 230
- Rhine, the, 85
- Rio de Janeiro, 362, 363 ; freedom of the press of, 382 ; the botanical Garden Railroad, 375
- Rotterdam, 94
- Rumigny, Marquis de, 64
- S
- St. Gudule, cathedral of, 78
- St. Paul's Cathedral, 386
- San Cristováo, palace of, 364
- Santa Anna, Gen. Antonio L., 164
- Sariava, President, interpellation of, 399-401 ; speech of, in reply to interpellation, 433-5
- Scheveningen, 95
- Schreiner, Baron, 381
- Scott, Gen. Winfield, 1, 7 *seq.*, 12, 163, 175, 182, 183, 195, 233, 259-61, 266
- Secession, of Southern delegates from Democratic National Convention at Charleston, 287 ; of South Carolina, 307 ; of Mississippi, 308 ; of Florida, 308 ; Mr. Hilliard's speech against hasty action in regard to 309, 310 ; of Alabama, 311 ; of Georgia 312 ; of North Carolina, 323 ; of Virginia, 323 ; of Tennessee, 329
- Seward, William H., 214, 290, 318, 347-50
- Seymour, Sir Hamilton, 65, 304
- Shannon, Col., 364, 377
- Sherman, Capt., 172, 174
- Sherman, Gen. William T., 341, 347
- Slave-holding States, meeting of Congressmen from, 198
- Slavery, Gen. Harrison opposed to, 9 ; Mr. Calhoun's resolution denying the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, 176 ; question of its introduction into California and New Mexico, 191 ; interview of Mr. Clay with Mr. Webster in regard to, 218 ; Mr. Clay's plan concerning, 219 ; Mr. Calhoun's speech upon, 221 ; Mr. Webster's speech upon, 224 ; discussion between Messrs. Webster and Calhoun, 225, 226 ; Mr. Hilliard's views upon, 248, 249 ; action of the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in regard to, 287 ; clause relating to, in platform adopted by Southern delegates to the Charleston Democratic Convention, 288 ; clause relating to, in platform adopted by the Republican Party in 1860, 290, 291 ; Mr. Hilliard's argument from the Constitution in support of, 299 ; abolition of, 336-40 ; Mr. Hilliard's views upon the emancipation proclamation in Brazil, 393-402
- Slaves, fugitive, dissatisfaction in the North at the adoption of law concerning extradition of, 244 ; rescue of, in Boston, 245
- Smithsonian Institute, organization of, 149
- Smithson, James, 149
- Speed, Joshua F., 339
- Speed, Joshua L., 345, 349
- "Spirit of Liberty," the (Mr. Hilliard's commencement address at the University of Virginia), 278-82
- Spurgeon, Rev. Chas. H., 384-6
- Soule, Senator, 214
- Soult, Marshal Nicholas Jean de Dieu, 104

- South Carolina, secession of, 307;
 passage of bill for an army by, 307
 Southern delegates, withdrawal of,
 from Democratic National Conven-
 tion at Charleston, 287; slavery
 clause in platform adopted by, 288
 "Southern-rights men," 258
 Southern States, measures for the pro-
 tection of, 199; Mr. Hilliard out-
 lines the true policy of, at Mont-
 gomery, 256-8
 Sovereign power of Congress over the
 territories of the United States, 270
 Stanley, Dean Arthur P., 407
Star of the West (steamship) fired
 upon by South Carolina troops, 314
 Stephens, Alexander H., 118, 311,
 315, 323, 338, 349; speech of, in
 opposition to secession, 311; views
 of, on Confederate constitution, 317
 Stuttgart, 360
- T**
- Tamagno, M., 377
 Tayloe, Benjamin O., 247
 Taylor, Gen. Zachary, 146, 162 *seq.*,
 182, 192, 195, 197, 205, 206, 215,
 229-31; Cabinet of, 206, 207;
 President Fillmore's message to
 Congress on the death of, 230;
 funeral of, 230
 Tennessee, Mr. Hilliard's mission to,
 on behalf of the Confederacy,
 325-9; secession of, 329
 Territories, Calhoun's resolution de-
 nyng the power of Congress to
 prohibit slavery in, 176; Calhoun's
 speech in defence of, 177
 Texas and New Mexico, boundary
 between, defined, 232
 Texas, Clay's opposition to its annexa-
 tion, 117
 Texas, secession of, 312
 Theresa, Donna, 368
- Thomas, Lieut. (afterwards Gen.)
 George H., 172
 Thompson, Jacob, 276, 314
 Thompson, Richard W., 357
 Thurman, Allen G., 132
 Ticknor, George, 202
 Toombs, Robert, 131, 316
 Toucey, Isaac, 276
 Trade-mark treaty with Brazil, 373-5
 Trist, Nicholas, 176
 Tuileries, the, 66; reception at, 102
 Tuscaloosa, Ala., State Convention at,
 19
 Twiggs, Gen., 313
 Tyler, John, 4, 17 *seq.*, 24, 115, 313
- U**
- "Union men," 258
 University of Virginia, 277; Mr. Hil-
 liard's commencement address at,
 278-82
 Upper California ceded to the United
 States by Mexico, 191
 Utrecht, 99
- V**
- Van Buren, Martin, 13 *seq.*, 117, 196,
 197
 Vera Cruz, capture of, 176
 Versailles, 106, 383, 384
 Victoria, Queen, visit to Brussels of,
 80
 Virginia, efforts of the State of, to re-
 store harmony in the country, 313;
 secession of, 323
 Virginia, University of, Mr. Hilliard's
 commencement address at, 278-82
- W**
- Walker, Gen. L. P., 271, 272, 316, 319,
 322
 Washington, Capt., 168, 174
 Waterloo, 56; battle of, 57 *seq.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Watts, Thomas H., 310</p> <p>Webster, Daniel, 2, 14, 20 <i>seq.</i>, 110, 194, 195, 213, 217, 222, 226, 231-3, 262, 263; debate on Charles J. Ingersoll's attack on, 154 <i>seq.</i>; Mr. Hilliard's eulogy of, 263-6</p> <p>Wellington, Duke of, 35</p> <p>Whig National Convention, at Harrisburg, Pa., 1-11; at Philadelphia, 194; at Baltimore, 259, 260</p> <p>Wilmot, David, 148, 9</p> | <p>Winthrop, Robert C., 181, 214, 232, 233</p> <p>Wood, Fernando, 294</p> <p>Worms, 86; diet of, 86; Luther's speech at, 87</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <p>Yancey, William L., 128, 194, 251-8, 285, 286</p> <p>Yell, Colonel, 168</p> |
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THE END.







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